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**A STUDY OF DRINK DRIVING IN LAGOS - FROM
THE PERSPECTIVE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT
OFFICERS**

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**This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the
award of Doctor of Philosophy**

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A STUDY OF DRINK DRIVING IN LAGOS – FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS

Abstract

This study describes the 'lived experience' of drink driving in Lagos from the perspective of law enforcement officers. The study explored the reasons why Lagosians/Nigerians drink and drive and focuses on law enforcement officers' perceptions of driving under the influence of alcohol, the challenges they face and how they meet the challenges.

The research adopts a phenomenological approach both in terms of its orientation and its design and methods. The participants in the study were all adults: two commercial drivers, two health workers, and nine members of the public took part in semi-structured interviews. Fifteen law enforcement officers took part in focus group discussions and twenty eight law enforcement officers took part in semi-structured interviews; they were all serving male officers.

Data collection took place in Lagos state/Nigeria in two phases; in the first phase the data collection took place over a period of two months. In the second phase, the data collection took place over a period of six months and this included compilation of field notes, and participant observation at motor terminuses (parks) and at the stop and search road blocks set up by law enforcement officers throughout Lagos state. A total of 56 digital tape recorded interviews were carried out during the field work. Through the process of hermeneutic interpretation, themes were identified and used to describe perceptions of the phenomenon of driving under the influence of alcohol and the structure of the 'lived experience' of law enforcement officers.

The findings illustrate how wider cultural, economic and social factors impact on law enforcement officers' perceptions of their roles and on their ability to carry out their responsibilities effectively. They emphasise the importance of role legitimacy, feelings of role adequacy and the need for role support to establish a strong professional identity within the police forces. The findings also revealed problems arising from the structure of the police force and from the internal uncertainties within the profession regarding roles and responsibilities in relation to driving under the influence of alcohol enforcement.

The research raises questions about drink driving policy and highlights the need for a strong enforcement policy and for better deterrent measures to be taken against offenders. It also emphasises the need for educational campaigns about the dangers of driving under the influence of alcohol, and the establishment and enforcement of maximum legally permissible blood alcohol concentration (BAC) levels for drivers.

Clement Ogeleyinbo

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIG: Assistant Inspector General of Police

BAC: Blood Alcohol Concentration

CD: Commercial driver

CP: Commissioner of Police

DMVA: Directorate of Motor Vehicle Administration

DVLA: Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency

DPO: Divisional Police Officer

DUI: Driving under the Influence of Alcohol

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West Africa State

FCT: Federal Capital Territory

FGD: Focus Group Discussion

FRSC: Federal Road Safety Commission

ICAP: International Centres for Alcohol Policy

IGP: Inspector General of Police

ITALICS: Conceptual categories and themes identified through textual analysis

LASTMA: Lagos State Traffic Management Authority

LEO: Law Enforcement Officer

MD: Medical Doctor

MOT: Ministry of Transport Test

NHSBT: National Health Services Blood and Transplant

NPC: Nigeria Police Council

NPF: Nigerian Police Force

PP: Page Number

PSC: Police Service Commission

QRS: Qualitative Research Software

RPO: Regular Police Force

RES: Respondent A1 - A9

[Square brackets]: Researcher comments, added to provide clarity or explanation

UK: United Kingdom

USA: United State of America

VIO: Vehicle Inspection Officer

WHO: World Health Organisation

Chapter one: Introduction and Background

Introduction

This thesis is about the role of law enforcement officers in responding to drink driving in Lagos/Nigeria. More specifically, it examines how they perceive their role, the challenges they face in addressing drink driving, and the ways in which they attempt to meet the challenges. It examines the factors which constrain the officers' ability to carry out their roles effectively and which influence their sense of professional identity. It also considers how law enforcement officers perceive drink driving more widely in society; and their perceptions of the social, cultural and economic factors which influence driving under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria. This chapter will state the study aims and research questions, set out the background to the research, and outline the structure of the thesis.

Aim and research questions

The study aimed to investigate law enforcement officers' perceptions of their role in relation to the management of drink-driving in Lagos, Nigeria. The study was guided by the following research questions:

- 1) How do law enforcement officers perceive: their roles in relation to drink driving, the challenges they face in addressing drink driving, and the ways in which they attempt to meet the challenges?

- 2) In what ways is the execution of law enforcement officers' responsibilities influenced by cultural, structural, legislative and practical factors?

Alcohol consumption and drink - driving in Nigeria

According to the report by the world health organisation fact sheet (2013), more than 90% of deaths and injuries that result from road traffic accidents occur in low and middle income countries which Nigeria is one of them. This problem is a long standing issue. Alcohol is widely consumed around the world, and its misuse can have severe social and economic consequences (Gureje, et al., 2007). According to Gureje (2007), alcohol is the most commonly abused substance in Nigeria and in a recent report by World Health Organisation (2011), the *Global Actions on Harmful Drinking*, the prevalence of alcohol use while driving by commercial drivers in Nigeria was 67.2%. Drink-driving is, therefore, an extremely important issue in the society.

According to Odueme (2008), drink driving accidents are the cause of many deaths and injuries to Nigerians. They have significant social and economic implications and are more serious than in any other part of the world. Officially, around 59% of reported accidents were fatal in 2006, although this figure has been much higher in other years. A recent report by (WHO, 2013) on road traffic accidents, injuries and deaths in selected African countries say Nigeria accounts for the highest fatalities with 33.7 percent per 100,000 populations every year. According to the FRSC (2013) annual reports and (WHO, 2013), reports entitled "Road Safety in WHO African Region", more

than one in four road traffic accidents deaths and injuries occur on Nigerian roads. This report claimed that Nigeria has the second worst road traffic fatalities in the world. South Africa closely trailed Nigeria with 31.9 percent per 100,000 populations, followed by DR Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, on the same report; Africa was reported to be the least motorized out of the six continents in the world but suffers the most and highest rates of road fatalities of the 37 countries the survey covered. In Britain the death rate is 7 percent per 100,000 populations while USA is 15 percent per 100,000 populations respectively. This issue is also highlighted by the World Health Organisation (WHO). A report by the (WHO) and the United Nations, released in May 2011, found that every year 1.2 million people are killed and an estimated 50 million are seriously injured through road traffic accidents worldwide. The report showed that from an average of over 30,000 road traffic accidents that occur annually in Nigeria, over 35,000 people either lost their lives or were seriously injured. Road traffic accidents have physical, social, emotional and economic implications. The global economic cost of road traffic accidents was estimated at US\$518 billion per year as reported by the world health organisation Fact sheet, (2013) with US\$100 billion of that occurring in poor developing countries. The (FRSC, 2012) report claimed that Nigeria loses about 100 billion Naira to road traffic accidents annually. Of the victims that are involved in road traffic accidents, 29.1% suffer disability and 13.5% are unable to return to work (Labinjo. et al, 2010). Hence, the cost of road traffic accidents is huge, and includes not only the cost of damage to private property and public amenities, but also the cost of medical treatment and the cost of productivity lost due to road traffic accidents.

In Nigeria, trauma is the main reason for accident and emergency department visits and road traffic accidents are responsible for the majority of deaths in these departments. The overall mortality from road traffic injuries is about 1.6 per 1,000 populations. This is significant, as the majority of these injuries and deaths can be prevented. The causes of road traffic accidents are multi-factorial such as indiscipline for example overloading, reckless driving, impatience, ignorance of traffic rules and regulations among others (Oyeyemi, 2003; Balogun, 2006; FRSC, 2007; Chukwu, 2007). Many drivers overtake at corners or bends with the hope that no other vehicle is coming from the opposite direction at that moment. These factors can be divided broadly into driver factors, vehicle factors and roadway factors. Driver factors (including drinking and driving) alone contribute to about 57% of road traffic accidents and 93% may be attributed to driver errors in combination with other factors (Lum and Reagan, 1995). Vehicle factors can be divided into vehicle design and vehicle maintenance. Some safety features of vehicles like seatbelts and airbags are likely to reduce the risk of death and serious injuries. Road design and maintenance is also a factor that contributes to road traffic accidents. Unfortunately, Nigerian highways are arguably one of the worst and most dangerous in the world (Adogu, 2009). Accidents can be caused by a combination of these factors but the strong association with alcohol use is notable. Alcohol is a major cause of morbidity and mortality from road traffic accident in Nigeria. According to World Health Organization (2008) statistical modelling, with deaths ranging from 34,000 to 78,000 in (2007) and a mortality rate of 32.3 percent.

The social acceptability of certain illegal activities varies from country to country and emerging nations such as Nigeria typically are more tolerant of certain illegal behaviours such as drink driving than industrialised nations such as the United Kingdom or the United States (Parboteeah, Hoegl & Cullen, 2003). Despite the overwhelming evidence of high levels of alcohol consumption among the driving population in Nigeria, there has been little effort from the Federal Government of Nigeria to regulate and introduce policy to control drink driving in the country (Gureje, et al. 2007). In Nigeria, there are few laws that restrict or regulate alcohol purchasing or consumption at the federal, state or local government level. According to Davenport (2006, pp.849), “because of the high societal costs of drinking and driving, it is hardly surprising that countries impose severe penalties for driving under the influence of alcohol as a method of deterrence” but this is not so in Nigeria.

The social and economic impact of drink driving in Nigeria is difficult to gauge with any precision because of the dearth of lack of the relevant studies concerning the problem. What is known for certain is that trauma from road traffic accidents is on the increase in Nigeria today. The prevalence, severity and impact of drink driving is considerably higher in Nigeria than in other African and Euro-American countries, therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that alcohol-related traffic accidents represent a very real threat to the social and economic progress of Nigeria today. This observation is also congruent with Akuta's (2009), argument, “Unless somebody can find a way to change the nature of careless and drink driving situation in Nigeria, we will have more crises. Careless and drink driving can cause accidents. Accidents devastate

lives and can cause deaths. Deaths are losses to the nation and our various families” Akuta, (2009, pp.4).

While it is reasonable to posit that the increased use of alcohol by Nigerians in recent years has contributed to the costs of law enforcement, road traffic accidents and the incidence of domestic violence, there remains a paucity of studies and statistics concerning these issues and reliable statistical data is unavailable. In this regard, Heath (1995) emphasises that notwithstanding the significant availability and consumption patterns of alcohol in Nigeria, the limited statistics concerning alcohol-related social and law enforcement issues is proof positive of massive under-reporting; it is impossible to find any literature on the cost of alcohol consumption and law enforcement in Nigeria. According to Giesbrecht and his associates, in large part, this is a function of the failure to define alcohol as responsible for substantial numbers of health and social problems. In fact, there are no laws in respect of drunkenness per se, except when it leads to a breach of the law. Furthermore, there is no law concerning the blood-alcohol level above which one is not permitted to drive. Police incidents reports in Nigeria never indicate the presence or absence of alcohol in assaults and road-traffic accidents (Giesbrecht, et al., 1999). What is definitely known about alcohol use in Nigeria is that, alcohol abuse disrupts social, occupational, interpersonal and marital life and also induces criminal behaviour (World Health Organisation, 2003).

In the chapters which follow, a number of factors associated with the high rate of drink-driving in Nigeria will be highlighted. They are not unique to Nigeria but they form an important backdrop to understanding the contexts within which law enforcement officers work and the impact of wider cultural and

social factors on professional beliefs, attitudes and identities. One key factor, for example, is the effect of traditional beliefs about alcohol, the ways in which alcohol use is integrated into social interaction and believed to be beneficial in many circumstances, including for work purposes. Such beliefs, which are at least partly shared by police officers, influence not only the behaviour of the general population but that of the law enforcements officers too.

Drink-driving in Lagos

The setting for this study was in the city of Lagos. Lagos is the former capital of Nigeria, now the commercial capital of Africa, and Nigeria's most populous state with a population of around 21 million, projected by the World Health Organisation (WHO) to increase to around 25 million by 2016 (WHO, 2011). The city has been given the status of a mega city by the World Health Organisation. The state government is working very hard to fix the crumbling infrastructures within the state, but their efforts are not being helped by the Federal Government of Nigeria due to tensions between political parties.

In Lagos, according to a report by Nzegwu, et.al (2011), a total of two hundred and eighty three drivers were involved in a research study to determine the influence of alcohol on road traffic accident morbidity and mortality. A control drivers was also selected, the control drivers had a significantly lower blood alcohol levels of 18 mg/dl when compared with those drivers with 50 mg/dl to 110 mg/dl which involved in an accident and sustained injuries and death. This study documents 66 case of alcohol influenced road traffic accidents with blood levels ranging from 50 mg/dl to 110 mg/dl which was considered

significant. The report claimed that at 50 mg/dl there was an increase in the tendency to have a road traffic accident with another vehicle, with minor morbidity. Such accident could be referred to as “alcohol influence”, as blood alcohol rises to 70 mg/dl and above; lone accidents became more frequent with an increase in morbidity and mortality. The research concluded that road traffic accidents morbidity and mortality were higher in those drivers whose blood alcohol levels were above 70 mg/dl. Another study by Ekere A.U. (2005), conducted at the University of Port Harcourt Teaching Hospital Accident and Emergency department reported that road traffic accidents were the major commonest cause of traumatic death on Nigeria roads, accounting for up to 57.8% of deaths in Accident and Emergency department in most hospital in this study. There is, therefore, a long-term problem of drink-driving in the city which is a reflection of the situation in Nigeria as a whole.

In spite of the efforts of the Lagos State Government to deter driving under the influence of alcohol in recent years, the problem remains firmly in place. In this regard, one public advocacy group reports that, “despite all the publicity generated against drinking and driving in the past few years by the Federal Road Safety Commission of Nigeria (FRSC), alcohol related traffic crashes continue to be a major cause of death” (Patvora Awareness Against Drunk Driving, 2009), [online]. In terms of the laws that do exist, the legal limit for alcohol consumption when driving is 0.05 grams per 100 ml of blood. But enforcement of the law is highly problematic as subsequent discussion will show in the thesis.

Police officers are at the forefront of the effort to address drink-driving. It is important, therefore, to understand how they are positioned within the police

force structure and to take account of the institutional context of their working lives. The next sections provide a brief account of the development of the Nigerian police forces from 1960, then a broad overview of the structure of the Nigerian police force and the chain of command before describing the three groups of law enforcement officers most relevant to this study.

Development of the Nigerian police forces from 1960

Marginalisation and Police Corruption under Military Rule: 1960 to 1999

According to the Nigerian police bulletin (2010) Nigeria's first four decades following independence from Britain in 1960 was dominated by a series of military coups and successive military dictatorships. The police force, which at independence in 1960 numbered approximately 12,000, was larger than the military and was perceived by military leaders as a threat to their authority. As a result, the Nigerian police force was deliberately chronically underfunded and marginalised by the military governments during this period; this was the beginning of the decay of the police in Lagos/Nigeria.

As the military government of General Olusegun Obasanjo prepared to return Nigeria to civilian administration in 1979, the government embarked on a massive police recruitment campaign while largely disregarding recruitment and training standards.

By 1979, the Nigerians police force (NPF) had grown to 80,000 ill-trained, ill-motivated and ill-equipped men and women, as reported by the police bulletin review. The civilian government was short-lived and was overthrown by a

coup in 1983 that resulted in an additional 16 years of military rule, Nigerian police bulletin, (2010). From the start, the police have suffered from a poor public image. A commission, set up by the military government in 1967, found that the police was seen to be open to bribery and corruption and that their legitimacy as a professional body was not accepted by the citizens. The report of the commission concluded that unsuitable candidates had bribed their way into the force and lucrative stations were bought. The lucrative stations meant border stations such as Idiroko and Calabar where smuggling into Nigeria is rampant. Bribes were offered to affect assignment to duties with opportunities for extra income. They included traffic, vehicle inspection and criminal investigation duties. By the early 1990s, the Nigerian police had established a reputation for being repressive, corrupt, and ineffective, taking kickbacks, and for accepting bribes from criminal suspects wanting to avoid prosecution and other forms of case fixing.

The successive military governments installed few effective checks on abuse of police authority, leaving misconduct and corruption to flourish. Over time, morale declined and the deteriorating public image of the police deterred quality candidates from entering the force. It was claimed that most people joining the Nigerian police, joined it simply because it was a very easy way of making money, Nigeria police bulletin, (2010).

This poor image of the police still continues today as reported by the Nigeria police bulletin, (2010), and, as we will see in later chapters, impacts on officers' interaction with the public and their ability to carry out their legitimate duties efficiently.

Rapid Growth of Police under Civilian Rule: 1999 to Present day

At the end of military rule in 1999, there were approximately 140,000 police officers in the Nigerian Police Force. This amounted to just one police officer for every 820 Nigerians, well below the United Nations-recommended general benchmark of one police officer per 400 citizen's Nigerian police bulletin, (2010). In response to rising levels of crime that followed the end of military rule, the then President Olusegun Obasanjo ordered the Inspector General of Police to undertake yet another massive recruitment drive aimed at adding another 40,000 police officers per year for the next five years.

Similar to the recruitment drive of the late 1970s, police authorities made little effort to screen candidates for criminal backgrounds, and many recruits simply bribed their way into the force. By 2008, the police force stood at 371,800 and had more than doubled in size in less than eight years. However, the Nigerian government failed to provide a commensurate increase in funding to train, equip, and manage the vastly enlarged force. The 2008 Presidential Committee on the Reform of the Nigeria Police Force noted that police training became overstretched during this period, and that "very little, if any, attempt was made to upgrade the police training institutions" Nigeria police bulletin, (2010). The report commented that as a result, the committee concluded that the country is now saddled with a very large number of unqualified, under-trained and ill-equipped officer's women and men many of whose suitability to wear the respected uniform of the Police Force is in doubt.

In studying how the police respond to drink-driving, this wider background of a poorly trained, ill-equipped and possibly corrupt force needs to be taken into

account as the contextual basis which is likely to influence the perceptions and actions of the officers interviewed for this thesis.

Structure of the Nigerian Police Force and its Oversight Bodies

The Nigerian Police Force is a federal government institution with a centralised command structure headed by the Inspector General of Police (IGP) who reports directly to the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. According to Nigeria's constitution, the President consults with the Nigeria Police Council prior to appointing or removing the Inspector General of the Police. However, the chairman of the police council is the president with a civilian oversight body, whose membership includes the 36 state governors; this has rarely met in the past 10 years. The independent Police Service Commission (PSC) who is directly accountable to the president is responsible for appointing, promoting, and disciplining all members of the police force, with the exception of the IGP. However, the PSC has delegated these powers back to the police force for all junior and rank-and-file police personnel. Over the years, civilian oversight of the police has fallen under several government ministries, including the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Police Affairs. Since 2008, the Ministry of Police Affairs has had budgetary and general administrative oversight of the police. An administrative unit known as state command serves each of Nigeria's 36 states, as well as the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The state commands are grouped into 12 zoned commands, with two to four states in each zone, each under the supervision of an Assistant Inspector General of Police (AIG).

Each state command is headed by a Commissioner of Police (CP) who is directly accountable to the AIG in the respective zone. A state command is divided into smaller area commands, police divisions (headed by a divisional police officer, or DPO), police stations, police posts, and village police posts.

The critical issue is where does Nigeria stand in terms of institutions, mechanisms and procedures for holding police accountable? In general, the country has multiple institutions for holding police accountable. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria established two principal organs for the control of the Nigeria Police Force. In essence, the police are directly accountable to these organs. These are the Nigeria Police Council (NPC) and the Police Service Council (PSC). The state governors constitute an overwhelming number of the membership of the highest organ of control of the Nigeria Police Force. The Council as the highest organ of the state responsible for the policy on organization and administration of police in the country is the important organ for police accountability. The two organs are directly accountable to the president of Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The Police Council consists of:

- (a) the President who is the Chairman;
- (b) the Governor of each State of the Federation (36 states in the federation)
- (c) the Chairman of the Police Service Commission; and
- (d) the Inspector-General of Police.

There is a hierarchical command structure comprising the following status categories: The Inspector-General of Police, The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, The Asst. Inspector-General of Police, The Commissioner of Police (In-charge of contingents in the state), The Deputy Commissioner of Police, The Asst. Commissioner of Police, The Chief Superintendent of Police, The Superintendent of Police, The Deputy Superintendent of Police, The Asst. Superintendent of Police, The Inspector of Police, Sergeant Major, Sergeant, Corporal, Constable. The groups of police officers responsible for the everyday policing of drink-driving are at the bottom end of the law enforcements hierarchy responsible for traffic control and management, historically; without any professional status in the Nigerian society and lack any respect.

It is also important to consider the status and power of the Nigerian police forces in relation to other authorities in Nigeria. According to the Nigerian Police bulletin (2010) reports; a commonly held view of democracy is that there are many ways in which people can participate in the policy process and influence the government to promote the policies they want. In Lagos/Nigeria, this notion is the opposite; power and policy making decisions are in the hands of a few elite groups within the government and a few outside the government in the business communities, Nigeria police bulletin, (2010). The Nigerian law enforcement agencies are not part of the state elite that influence policy. This is one of the reasons why the law enforcement agencies have been chronically neglected and have endured indiscipline, bad reputation, and the lack of adequate training, infrastructure, financial resources and role support, as explained above and in chapter two. The law enforcement

agencies are underrepresented when it comes to the corridors of power and policy making; they have no way to influence the political elites and the policy making process. It can be argued that the law enforcement agencies (the Nigerian Police and their sister agencies) lack presence in the corridors of power, unlike the military who enjoy good patronage and have political power. Citizens are aware that the police lack political status and power and this, too, adds to the lack of police legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

Law enforcement officers

Law enforcement officers are a key professional group with an important role and responsibility in responding to drink driving. The enforcement officers are located at the interface between policy formation and implementation; they provide a window into understanding the phenomenon of drink driving in Lagos/Nigeria and their perceptions and experiences of responding to drink driving are the heart of this study. At the same time, it is recognised that how the officers perform their duties and how they think about their roles, responsibilities and opportunities to act effectively are highly influenced by cultural beliefs and attitudes about alcohol, by the social and institutional structures within which they work, by their own and others' perceptions of their professional status, and by the resources at their disposal. These issues will be discussed in later chapters in the thesis.

There are four different types of law enforcement agencies in Nigeria/Lagos: the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC), Vehicle Inspection Officers (VIO), the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) and the Lagos State Traffic Management Authority (LASTMA). The FRSC were not included in the study

because they are mainly responsible for federal highways and the licensing of vehicles; they are not involved with the day-to-day road traffic management within each of the states in the federation.

Vehicle inspection officers (VIO)

As the name implies, vehicle inspection officers are responsible for vehicle roadworthiness. VIO departments were established after the promulgation of the Road Traffic Act of the Federal Government of Nigeria, and are authorised to stop, detain, and impound any vehicle deemed not to be roadworthy. They are empowered to formally charge and take to court any driver driving a vehicle that is not fit to ply the federal roads of Nigeria (see figure 1).



Figure 1 (VIO) INVESTIGATING ROAD TRAFFIC ACCIDENT IN LAGOS WHERE SEVERAL PEOPLE PERISHED

Their primary objective is to investigate the roadworthiness of any vehicles involved in road traffic accidents, collaborating with other law enforcement agencies to ensure that safety prevails on Lagos/Nigerians roads.

Nigerian Police Force (NPF)

The prime function of the Nigerian Police Force is to keep law and order, to manage traffic issues, and to maintain peace and security in Nigeria in collaboration with other law enforcement agencies (see figure 2).



Figure 2 THE NIGERIAN POLICE AT A ROAD CHECK POINT IN LAGOS

Nigerians have varying opinions on the different groups of law enforcement agencies. Nigerians love to hate the Nigerian Police Force because many view them as tyrants, corrupt and above the law; they are believed to act outside the rule of law, take the law into their own hands and openly take bribes from the public.

Lagos State Traffic Management Authority (LASTMA)

The Lagos State Traffic Management Authority was established in July 2000 by the Lagos State Government to ensure free traffic flow on the roads in Lagos state. They are seen everywhere in the state, even in the most remote parts. They manage the traffic, impound illegally parked vehicles, check for vehicle overloading, reckless drivers, and vehicles that are not roadworthy. They are also responsible for helping to remove and evacuate passengers at the scene of road traffic accidents to keep the traffic moving (figure 3).



Figure 3

LASTMA ON TRAFFIC CONTROL DUTY IN LAGOS

The Nigerian police force historically suffered from low professional status in the society due to the historical conflict between the citizen and the police authority. Since independence, the Nigerian police have been plague with bad name and corruption. The police are accountable to the president of the Federal government of Nigeria. Because of the way the police authority were structured by the military after independence, they have no way of influencing policy, political power and are not represented in the legislative body unlike the military who are well represented and have influence in the corridor of power because of their dominance in the federal government of Nigeria

politics since independence. The Vehicle Inspection Officers (VIO) are next in status to the Nigerian police force but are accountable to the state ministry of work and transport and the ministry is directly accountable to the state governor. The VIO are far behind the Nigerian Police Force in terms of status and professional recognitions in the Nigerian politics when it comes to influencing policy and legislation. The Lagos State Transport Management Authority is a state agency and only accountable to the state governor, they have no ability to influence power and policy; they are in the lower end of the enforcement officer's hierarchy and enjoy a very low professional status in the law enforcement cycle compared to the Nigerian police force and the VIO.

Research approaches and methods

As mentioned above, drink-driving is an important issue in Nigeria and warrants policy attention. However, despite insights from existing studies (which will be discussed further in the thesis), serious gaps exist in the information and evidence available to policy makers. These gaps include lack of information and statistics on drink driving accidents and lack of understanding of the factors associated with drink-driving. Importantly, for this study, there has been no research into issues of policing drink-driving. This thesis aimed to address the gap by considering the issues around drink-driving from the perspective of the police officers at the forefront of enforcement. As noted above, this entailed gaining an understanding of the wider contexts and environmental influences on police officers' beliefs, attitudes and behaviours and, in particular, considering how officers'

professional identities and perceptions of their role performance might be affected by the structures and institutions within which they operated, by traditions and cultural beliefs about alcohol, which they may share, by the availability and use of alcohol in society more generally, and by more practical factors such as the availability of resources to carry out their duties effectively.

Given that the aim was to understand issues which had received little research attention and to gain insight into drink-driving from the point of view of enforcement officers, an exploratory, qualitative methodology was chosen as the most suitable research approach. The research drew on phenomenology, as the most appropriate approach to understanding people's everyday life experiences (Polit and Beck, 2006). To achieve descriptions of subjective lived experience, the phenomenological method can use a wide range of research tools, or combinations of these tools (Polit and Beck, 2006). In this regard, Stefanovic (2002) notes that, "from mindful observation of people in their settings to in-depth interviewing, from interior reflection to explication of narrative accounts or literary descriptions, the phenomenological approaches aim to 'lay bare' relations and patterns of perceiving the world that are frequently taken for granted" (Stefanovic, 2002, pp.28).

This study used documentation and published literature to gain an understanding of the wider factors which influence police officers' perceptions of their roles and professional identities. Face to face semi-structured interviews were used to gather information from samples of the general public and the law enforcement officers and were used to explore issues such as cultural and traditional uses of alcohol, perceptions of the role of the police in addressing drink-driving, considerations of the part played by alcohol in drink-

driving accidents and so on. A series of focus groups discussion were used to gather data on police officers' perceptions of drink-driving and of their role in responding to the problem, as this research approach "facilitates access to information-rich cases" (Martin, 2009, pp.118). The interviews were semi-structured in order to provide some uniformity to data collection and analysis while still providing the opportunity for the interviewer to probe further in response to interesting answers from the respondents and to allow new themes to emerge (Neuman, 2003).

Structure of the thesis

This chapter has provided the reader with a detailed overview of the thesis by presenting the contextual background within which law enforcement officers operates in Nigeria against the background of the development of the Nigerian Police Force and its tribulations from 1960 to the present day and it has introduced the three different types of law enforcement agencies in Lagos. Chapter Two presents the literature review. Alcohol trends in Lagos/Nigeria are described and the chapter outlines a conceptual framework for understanding how Lagosians and the law enforcement officers perceive their roles and their professional identities. The chapter reviews the issue of law enforcement officers' feelings of legitimacy, social identity and professional police identities. Chapter Three details the methodology and presents the justification and the advantages for the chosen approach. It focuses on offering a rationale for choosing a phenomenological methodological approach. The chapter continues with a discussion of the

methods of data collection and the ethical considerations in the data collection. Chapter Four begins with a brief overview of the characteristics of the study participants and some of the findings. This chapter uses focus group discussions and interviewees' responses to provide insight into why Lagosians drive under the influence of alcohol. Chapter Five focuses on the law enforcement officers' perception of their role and the challenges they face. This chapter also describes the factors which officers see as helping or hindering their ability to carry out their responsibilities. Chapter Six draws together the various findings and considers the way in which the study contributes to knowledge as well as the limitations of the work. The chapter returns to the conceptual framework and discusses officers' perceptions of role legitimacy and professional identity. Finally, the chapter considers the implications of the study for alcohol policy in Lagos/Nigeria.

Chapter two:

Literature Review

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review the literature on alcohol consumption trends in Nigeria and factors influencing consumption policies, laws and regulations on drink driving in Lagos/Nigeria; issues emerging from the literature on drink driving in Nigeria; the role of police and the factors which affect enforcement of drink driving regulations in Nigeria: issues of professional identity as they related to the three groups of enforcement officers in Lagos/Nigeria.

Alcohol Consumption Trends

The prevalence and abuse of alcohol in Nigeria are both on the rise and alcohol is commonly used throughout the country (WHO, 2003). According to a 2003 World Health Organisation report “Alcohol is readily available and is commonly used on both joyful and sorrowful occasions”. With the recent increase in the number of breweries in Lagos/Nigeria, alcohol problems appear to be increasing (Heath, 1995, pp.219; WHO, 2003). According to a survey conducted by WHO (2014), alcohol consumption in Nigeria is about 9.1 litres per capita, which is one of the highest among the African nations. This is significantly high compared to other nations such as the United Kingdom (10.4 litres), the United States (8.7 litres), and France (11.8 litres), given the fact that the majority of the Muslim population in Nigeria are prohibited from consuming alcohol.

Alcohol consumption trends have mirrored the economic development that has taken place in the country over a considerable number of years. For instance, in the 1990's Heath (1995, pp.218) stated, "For some time, the country has experienced considerable economic strain, which has affected the production of alcohol in many breweries. The government may have succeeded in indirectly discouraging the consumption of alcohol by not providing import licenses for purchasing raw materials that are necessary for the large-scale production of alcohol but this has recently changed, alcohol is freely purchased". The trends continued into the twenty first century. Some more recent trends in alcohol consumption in Nigeria can be readily discerned from figure 4 below:

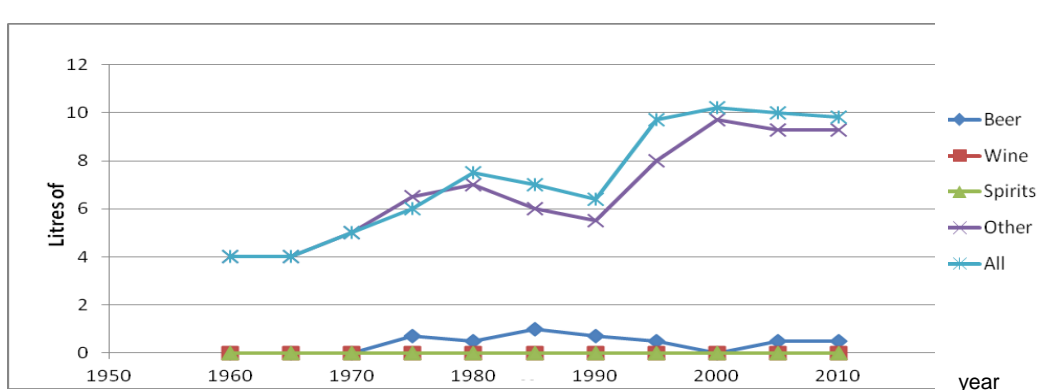


Figure 4. Recorded alcohol per capita (15+) consumption, 1961-2010

Source: World Health Organization (2014) at http://www.who.int/substance_abuse/publications/global_alcohol_report/msb_gsr_2014_2.pdf?ua=1

Although imported alcoholic beverages cover the entire spectrum, the typical types of alcoholic beverages consumed in Nigeria include native gin (popularly called Ogogoro), palm wine, Chelsea, Calypso, Olomo bitter, Western gin, wine, and beer (Heath, 1995). According to Heath, "palm gin is a

distillate of palm wine; locally brewed beers are made from various grains, and beer is also brewed in large factories; some alcohol is imported” (Heath, 1995, pp.219).

Other alcoholic beverages include locally produced *pito* made from cereal grains such as maize or sorghum; *emu* is made from palm sap, and *agadangidi* is made from mashed ripe plantain, fresh chilli peppers and water (World Health Organisation, 2003). **Palm wine** (WHO, 2003) is produced from the sap of the palm tree; it is very sweet, and because of its sweetness, one could consume large quantities before realising it. Palm wine alcohol concentration is about 10.6%. **Burukutu** is made from fermented guinea-corn and its alcohol concentration is about 8.1%. **Ogogoro** is brewed locally and is most popular among the lower classes and the artisans. It is also known as *akpeteshe*, *Egun inu igo* ‘The Masquerade in the Bottle’, and ‘push-me-push-you’ in Yoruba. Other Nigerian epithets include *ufofo* (Calabar), *Sapele water* and *kparaga* in the Delta, in Urhobo *OHMS* (our homemade stuff), *Iced water*, *push me, I push you* (WHO, 2003), to name but a few. The name given to this product in Lagos depends on the part of the country you come from.

Ogogoro is the most popular locally brewed alcoholic beverage consumed in Lagos. The active ingredient in ogogoro is ethanol and its concentration within the drink is very high; the alcohol concentration is about 66.5%. As it is often brewed at home by amateurs, the drink can be extremely dangerous and every month people die consuming this product (World Health Organisation, 2003).

Factors which influence Alcohol Consumption

As serious academic interest in alcohol use in Nigeria did not begin until recently, the researcher had to use information from the 1990s, although a limited amount of research was conducted in the 1970s. Most research on alcohol in Nigeria is extremely dated but this does not make the work invaluable (Fiki, 2007). Since then, there has been an understanding of the incidence of alcohol use and abuse in Nigeria which is worthy of note. For example, as is the case with most African nations today, the people of Nigeria regard alcohol as a food product that contains important nutrients rich in vitamins that are essential for health: alcohol is also considered to be a stimulant and a disinfectant that provides protection for the body in combating cold, fear, weariness and harmful pathogens (Heath, 1995). According to Heath, "Alcohol is justifiably considered a nutrient because Nigerian palm wine is reported to contain 145 milligrams of ascorbic acid and 100 grams of vitamin C per serving. These beliefs about alcohol still prevail among all segments of the Nigerian population. Customs encourage such beliefs, and the use of alcohol in Nigeria is often a reflection of cultural and traditions, parents interpretations of alcohol as a traditional product does not help the situation (Heath, 1995, pp.216). If parents consume alcohol, there is a greater likelihood that the children of the family will also consume alcohol; conversely, in families where parents do not consume alcohol, there is a greater likelihood that their children will also abstain (Heath, 1995). According to Heath, very young Nigerian children are frequently presented with dubious rationales in support of the consumption of alcohol such as failing academic tests or to relieve stress; the main reason for alcohol consumption during this period was

to relieve them of the stress of failing their examination and help them through the disappointment period, this notion still firmly holds in Nigerian society today. As is the case in other countries, most people in Nigeria use alcohol for a variety of psychological or social reasons, which include: to feel better, to reduce pressure or problems, reaction to peer-pressure, and confusion of self image (Heath, 1995; WHO, 2003). From a social viewpoint, the reasons for using alcohol include simply having an enjoyable time, or as a way to celebrate or to mourn, while the ready availability of alcohol is also cited (Heath, 1995).

Apart from cultural and traditional influences on beliefs about alcohol and alcohol use, the main factors which influence consumption of alcohol are gender, age, religious influence, urban/rural influence, and availability: these factors will be discussed below:

Gender differences

More Nigerian males than females report using alcohol, with the elderly expected to drink more and women of all ages expected to drink less (Heath, 1995). Heath accounts for this difference, "This could be a result of the fact that Nigeria is a male-dominated society. It is generally believed that males should drink more than females". In some cases, Nigerian females may be excluded from consuming alcohol; however, in some very rare cases, everyone partakes of whatever alcoholic beverage is available with a very limited amount for the women because it's a traditional ritual (Heath, 1995).

However, this act of male domination in alcohol consumption is not peculiar to Nigeria (cdc.gov, www.cdc.gov/alcohol/fact-sheets/mens-health.htm).

In most countries all over the world men are more likely to be drinkers and drink more than women. However, in some countries, such as Nigeria, the gap between male and female alcohol consumption is greater. According to the American CDC (Centres for Disease Control and Prevention), (cdc.gov, [online]), men are more likely than women to drink excessively. The report also commented that approximately 63% of adult men reported drinking alcohol in the last 30 days. Men (24%) were two times more likely to binge drink than women during the same time period. Men average about 12.5 binge drinking episodes per person per year, while women average about 2.7 binge drinking episodes per year, (cdc.gov). Majority of the people who binge drink are not alcoholic or alcohol dependent, (Minino, et al., 2004). It is estimated that about 17% of men and about 8% of women will meet criteria for alcohol dependence at some point in their lives (Hasin, et al., 2007). Men in general, consistently have higher rates of alcohol-related deaths and hospitalisations than women (Chen and Yi, 2005). Among drivers in fatal motor-vehicle traffic crashes, men are almost twice as likely as women to have been intoxicated (blood alcohol concentration of 0.08% or greater) (Chen and Yi, 2005). Men are more likely than women to commit suicide, and more likely to have been drinking prior to committing suicide (Hayward, Zubrick and Silburn, 1992).

Age

A survey of alcohol use among young people in Nigeria by the World Health Organisation reveals the consumption rates described in table 1 below:

Table 1. *Alcohol Consumption Rates by Young Nigerians (aged 15+ years)*

	Male	Female
Heavy episodic drinking	11.3%	2.0%
Alcohol dependence	1.0%	<0.1%
Alcohol use disorders	3.8%	0.4%
Use of alcohol per capita	25.6%	17.7%
Use alcohol at least once	15.8%	18.7%
Average age for initiation	13.2 years	

Source: World Health Organisation 2014 (global status report on alcohol)

Recent research has shown that the majority of secondary school students and university students use alcohol (Izevbigie & Owie, 2006). Most of this drinking takes place in a social gathering.

According to Heath (1995), "In Nigeria, alcohol is known to be consumed by teenagers on traditional festive occasions. The teenagers often take advantage of these occasions to use or abuse alcohol in an attempt to emulate adults. Often the main activities connected with the occasions overshadow the drinking, so an alcohol problem is not recognised". The fact that there are no age restrictions for the purchase or consumption of alcohol complicates matters for reform-minded advocates of controls on alcohol abuse in Nigeria. In this regard, Heath emphasises that, "In Nigeria, it is

possible to see a five-year-old child purchasing alcohol for his/her parents or other elders. This has raised great alarm among researchers, who are calling on the Nigerian government to come up with guidelines (Heath, 1995); this practice still remains firmly in place to date. Studies have shown that the problems of alcohol are more often associated with young children. The problems associated with this could be attributed to the adults who send them to purchase alcohol" (Heath, 1995, pp.219). In sharp contrast to other countries where age restrictions help to moderate alcohol consumption by young people, a number of cultural practices in Nigeria facilitate the practice. For instance, Heath, (1995, pp.220) notes that, "on many festive occasions, teenagers serve drinks to the elders, and have the opportunity to save some for their own consumption later". Studies show that students are drinking at an earlier age than previously thought. According to Heath this could be because children are sent to purchase alcohol, and they serve it during parties. Young children's access to alcohol gives them opportunities to try it earlier than young people in many other countries (Heath, 1995).

Some cultural practices also appear to promote the use of alcohol by young Nigerians. At parties, festive gatherings and other occasions where alcohol is served, the youngest person present, typically an adolescent, is responsible for pouring drinks for all of the attendees, beginning with the eldest male attendee and continuing with the other males in descending age order. All male attendees are served first before any female attendees are served; again in descending age order (Heath, 1995). According to Heath, "the presence of teenagers during the consumption of alcohol enables them to emulate the adults; they probably feel that the consumption of alcohol is a

way of achieving adulthood". Furthermore, the ability to 'hold one's liquor' is commonly used as a gauge of manhood in many Nigerian regions. For instance, Heath reports that, "in a typical Nigerian community, the more a man consumes alcohol and remains sober, the more respect he gains. This is now also a practice among teenagers, who hold secret drinking contests. Usually among Nigerian students, being able to drink and remain sober makes one a hero" (Heath, 1995).

The presence of numerous universities in Lagos is cited by Egbochuku (2006) as a contributing factor to the inordinately high incidence of alcohol consumption by young people, with as many as 90% of university students drinking alcohol today. However, parental influence on alcohol consumption patterns continues well into the university years for many of these Nigerian students, a student whose parents drinks alcohol, are more likely to drink during their time at university than their counterparts whose parents do not drink.

In a study of women engaged in the brewing of a local alcoholic beverage called burukutu, in Jos, a city in Central Nigeria, a predominantly Islamic region, Ojiji, et al. (1993) obtained a surprising finding that 48% of those surveyed reported giving alcohol to their children as a substitute for food or drink. Furthermore, 42% reported giving alcohol to the children of their friends and relatives. The fact that alcohol is served to children as young as four months old, with a modal age of one year, is very striking. The authors noted that neither the fathers nor the customers present at the time objected to the alcohol being given to the children suggesting that the practice might be culturally sanctioned.

Religion

Another important influence on alcohol consumption is the religious factor. Falola (2001) emphasises that, "Islam is very much opposed to the sales and consumption of alcohol in Islamic areas". Some Islamic authorities are concerned that increasing contact with Christians and people of other faiths in other regions of Nigeria may have contributed to the use of alcohol by members of the Islamic faith (Werthmann, 2002). According to Heath (1995), alcohol is a major part of various religious practices in Nigeria, a custom that is common in most African countries. In Nigeria, for instance, alcohol can serve as the bride-price or as gifts for the bride's relatives. Other religious-related activities that can include alcohol consumption are engagement parties, marriage ceremonies, funerals, festivals, worship of local gods. According to Heath, there are some regional differences in the religious use of alcohol. Although there are few restrictions on alcohol use for religious reasons in southern Nigeria, where the majority of the people are either Christians or practice traditional tribal religions, in contrast, there are rigid restrictions on alcohol use in Islamic northern Nigeria.

Urban/Rural factors

While precise statistics are unavailable concerning rural and urban alcohol consumption, general patterns indicate that more Nigerians in urban areas use alcohol than their rural counterparts. One of the main reasons for this is the disparity in wages; the wages tend to be higher in the cities, while wages are generally lower in the rural areas. For example, Heath noted that,

teachers in cities drank more than those in the country. Fiki (2007: pp.37-38), commented that, "The reality of rural drug and alcohol use in Nigeria remains a challenge for research. Rural communities are particularly exposed to the social and health consequences associated with cheap homemade local ogogoro alcohol" Both problems of adapting to urbanisation and issues of affordability possibly contribute to different drinking patterns in urban and rural areas.

Availability

Another main influence that contributes to alcohol consumption in Lagos/Nigeria is the easy access and availability of the product. Beer and breweries are among the fastest growing businesses in Nigeria next to the crude oil industries [online at www.mapsofworld.com/nigeria/business/beer-and-breweries]. Locally made alcohol (ogogoro) and beer are the most popular alcoholic beverages consumed in Lagos; statistically, beer constitutes about 96% of all alcoholic drinks consumed. There are many breweries located throughout Nigeria but most of them are in the large cities like Lagos. In Lagos, beer is sold in glass bottles, the volume ranging from 330ml to 1200ml; their concentration ranges from 6% to 10.5%. Alcohol is easily available and ranges from commercially produced alcohol to home brew. The large international brewery companies provide revenue for the government and they also create employment. These international alcohol producers are important to the Nigerian economy, which has implications for the control and enforcement of alcohol distribution, availability and consumption.

Illegally produced alcoholic beverages (which are illegal only to the extent that such operations fail to pay appropriate taxes to the Nigerian government) in Nigeria, including home-brewed beers and palm wines, also contribute immensely to the ready availability and influence the consumption of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria (Heath, 1995; Falola, 2001). There also appears to have been some relaxation of government efforts from the 1990`s to regulate illegally produced alcoholic beverages. According to Heath (1995), "In Nigeria today, the policy on prohibition of alcohol has become tempered in comparison with years ago, when tapping of oil-palm trees to make wine and distilling alcohol except by special permit was prohibited". Moreover, native gin (Ogogoro) continues to be produced under less than sanitary conditions (Heath, 1995).

According to Heath (1995), weekends and holiday periods are frequent occasions for alcohol use; however, the use of alcohol is certainly not restricted to these days. Moreover, although there are laws regulating where alcohol can be sold, there is little enforcement in Nigeria and alcohol is readily and freely available virtually everywhere; some people even market alcoholic beverages from their homes or transform their living rooms into beer parlours where everyone is welcomed this was the situation in the 1990`s when Heath commented and the situation still remains the same to date. Moreover, the efforts by law enforcement authorities to regulate the times for the sale of alcohol have not met with success.

According to Heath in the 1990`s, there have no serious academic studies to date and the situation still remains the same concerning the impact that alcohol consumption has on work-related issues in Nigeria, although some

extrapolations can be made based on current consumption practices. Heath emphasises that, “although places selling alcohol officially are not supposed to be open for business before noon on any day, many people wash down their breakfasts with beer, this is still the normal practice in Lagos today”. As a result of the ready availability of alcohol, it is reasonable to suggest that Nigerians who begin drinking early in the day will tend to either avoid going to work or will face disciplinary actions if they show up at work intoxicated. As Heath points out, “This is just one indication that alcohol is readily available at any time of the day. Both retailers and consumers ignore the time at which alcohol sales must stop. Although it is stipulated that alcohol sales must stop by 2 a.m., most beer parlours are open until 4 a.m. and may open again for business as early as 6 a.m.” (Heath, 1995, pp.215 - 218).

Factors influencing alcohol consumption

From the above discussion, it is clear that, in common with most other countries, factors such as gender, age, religion, urban or rural dwelling and availability of alcohol influence the amount and patter of alcohol consumed by different population groups. However, these factors need to be understood within the specific cultural context of Lagos/Nigeria. Traditional cultural beliefs and patterns of usage continue to influence behaviour while adaptation to modern urban dwelling and to current pressures and influences from increasing globalisation also impact on alcohol consumption patterns.

Policies, Laws and Regulations on Drink Driving in Lagos/Nigeria

An estimated 32% of fatal car crashes involve a drink driving drivers and pedestrian, UK department of transport, (2012); driving and alcohol do not go together, drinking alcohol make driving dangerous and potentially lethal.

The human brain has to handle thousand of information's and process countless data within short period of time, alcohol affect the ability of the brain to make quick decisions on the road to react to changes in the environment and execute specific manoeuvres behind the wheel, (www.ncadd.org/learn-about-alcohol). Drink driving reduces concentration, loss of judgement, loss of relaxation and altered mood which results in a decline in visual functions and ability to perform two tasks at the same time.

Drink driving is a global public health threat that continues to defy easy solutions. The social acceptability of certain illegal activities varies from country to country and emerging nations such as Nigeria typically are more tolerant of certain illegal behaviours – such as driving under the influence of alcohol – than industrialised nations such as the United States or the United Kingdom (Parboteeah, Hoegl & Cullen, 2003).

Drink driving is a serious problem throughout the world. Many people are killed or injured each year as a result of driving under the influence of alcohol (DUI). In Lagos/Nigeria, drink driving has become a significant problem that has to be addressed (Anbarci, et al., 2006). Many more fatal road crashes in the rural areas in Nigeria were not even reported and not added to the statistics; consequently, there are no accurate statistics of true road accidents in Nigeria (Odueme, 2008). According to the official statistics released on

Monday, 5th February 2010 by the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC, 2010), 17,000 Nigerians lost their lives in 31,000 road traffic crashes in 2007. Drink driving increases both the risk of a crash and the likelihood that death or a serious injury will result (WHO, 2011). The risk of involvement in a crash increases significantly above blood alcohol concentration (BAC) levels of 0.04 g/dl (WHO, 2011). According to a recent WHO report (May 2011), Nigeria came 191 out of 192 in a league table of country road accidents; 161 deaths in every 10,000 population (see table 2 below). It is important to note that Nigeria has no effective and well-managed (BAC) legislation and enforcement in place.

Table 2: Road traffic deaths per 10,000 populations for selected countries

Nigeria	161.0		UK	1.6		USA	2.1
Mali	61.3		Italy	1.9		Canada	2.0
Kenya	55.1		Germany	2.1		Japan	1.7
Liberia	53.7		Ireland	3.4		Australia	1.8
Lesotho	150.9		Belgium	3.2		Sri Lanka	8.2
Uganda	132.0		France	3.0		Finland	2.1
Botswana	41.1		Austria	2.9		Taiwan	2.1

Rwanda	193.2		Spain	2.8		Norway	1.2
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Source (adapted from): <http://www.phrasebase.com> [online]

Although speeding and aggressive drivers cause the majority of these accidents, many of these accidents can also be associated with drinking and driving (Gire, 2002; Onakomaya & Ekannem, 1981). In fact, one report claims that many people in Nigeria do not seem to understand the ways in which drink driving impairs judgment (Gire, 2002). Serious social and economic issues arise from the lack of understanding of the consequences of driving under the influence of alcohol.

The primary social issue associated with drink driving in Nigeria is premature death and serious fatalities (Obot, 2000). Injuries sustained from drink driving can affect an individual and their family for many years (Dimah & Gire, 2004; Odejide, 1999). Families and communities are adversely affected when a loved one dies. These adverse effects are increased when the individual killed or injured is also the main breadwinner for the entire family. Such an injury or death can change the social and economic conditions for the family and the community forever.

Due to the prevalence of drinking and driving in Lagos/Nigeria, people in general view Nigeria as a whole in a negative way, according to one review (Ipingbemi, 2006). Lagos is the economic power house of Nigeria and Africa. The Nigerian economy, like other countries throughout the world, benefits greatly from tourism (Ipingbemi, 2008). The prevalence of drink driving

incidents can influence tourism because it causes people to consider carefully whether or not they want to visit Nigeria or any other African country, and this negatively affects the economy of the nation.

Drink Driving Laws and Policies

Almost every country has laws on driving under the influence of alcohol, and Nigeria is no exception. This literature review will consider: What laws exist? Are the laws adequate? Are the laws properly enforced? This is critical in understanding the situation relating to drink driving accidents in Lagos/Nigeria. It is essential to look at the current state of the law and the penalties for drinking and driving and enforcement in Lagos/Nigeria.

Before the introduction of commercial alcoholic beverages to Africa, informal alcohol policies existed. For example, in south western Nigeria and Lagos, children and females were forbidden from drinking alcohol (Odejide and Odejide, 1999, pp.34-356). Adult males who got drunk were barred from drinking for a certain period. These could be regarded as restriction policies existing in this part of the community (Lagos) in the pre-colonial period (Odejide and Odejide, 1999, pp.356). With the introduction of Western industrial alcohol to Nigeria, new sets of alcohol policies were introduced. The most prominent was the pricing and taxation of alcoholic beverages. The government's intention was not to control the sales and the consumption of alcohol, rather, taxation was a source of revenue for the government, and alcohol was, therefore, treated as an ordinary commodity (Odejide, 2006) and freely available at anytime during the day and night throughout society.

Nigerian traffic laws have been evolving at a snail's pace, from the Road Traffic Act of 1st January 1949 to the Federal Road Safety Commission Decree of the 1980s to the Federal Highway Act of 2002, which was geared towards enhancing road safety but lacked enforcement and was never enforced from state to federal level. Prior to the introduction of Nigerian constitutions in 1979, there was the Road Traffic Ordinance of 1949, which has gone through various revisions and reviews until 1990 (all Africa.com). This Traffic Act and the constitutional provisions gave birth to the various Road Traffic Regulations fashioned by each of the federation States/Federal Capital Territory (FCT), to suit their peculiar environment and culture. The National Road Traffic Act Cap 548 of 1990 (see Box 1), is the statutory document that regulates the construction and use of motor vehicles on public roads and highways, licensing such vehicles and persons in charge of same, as well as all other matters incidental thereto (all Africa.com).

The establishment of Road Traffic Services and the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC), both serving as state and federal agencies have not achieved the desired results to date due to duplication and overlapping of functions by both agencies. The situation is a serious threat to the development, implementation and enforcement of road traffic regulations in Nigeria to the detriment of road users and their safety. The duplication of road traffic regulation functions, particularly between the Federal Road Safety Commission, the Police, VIO, LASTMA and the Directorate of Road Traffic Services is a necessary issue that requires Federal and State Government intervention in view of the 1999 constitution. The implications of the assertion on federalism as enshrined in the constitution, the National Road Traffic Act

Cap 548 of 1990, and the Nigerian Tax Law of (1998) on collectable taxes and levies on motorists were only geared towards collecting taxes and levies for the government ignoring the safety of the citizens with little or no enforcement at all levels (all Africa.com).

Accordingly, the Motor Licensing Authority under the State Ministry of Finance is responsible for the registration of vehicles, issuance of vehicle licenses and motor-related documentation, and collection of revenue on motor-related taxation. This position remained until 1990 when an International Treaty on the Harmonisation of Highway Legislations in the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) Sub-region was signed by the Authority of Heads of State and Governments that approved the setting up of appropriate machinery in member states to be responsible among other things for; registration of vehicles, issuance of drivers licences, organising of technical inspection of vehicles, and compilation of statistics. (all Africa.com).

In compliance with this International Treaty, the Nigerian Federal Government in 1993 directed that Motor Vehicle Administration Departments should be established in each of the Federating States/FCT comprising Central Motor Registry, Motor Licensing Office, Vehicle Examination and Driver Testing Examination centres.

However, only the FCT and Lagos State have fully complied with this Federal Government directive by establishing the Directorate of Road Traffic Services and FCT under the Transportation Secretariat (similar to the Ministry of Works and Transport in the United States and the DVLA in the UK), and Directorate of Motor Vehicle Administration (DMVA) in Lagos State under the Ministry of

Transportation but without any enforcement of traffic regulation power (all Africa.com), this function is now carried out by the FRSC. During the era of Military Administration, from 1966 to 1999, it did not create the enabling environment for states to fully implement their constitutional responsibilities to operate Motor Vehicle Administration but were more concerned about the revenue which was never re-invested to promote safety on the roads. This has led to the problems today on the roads in Lagos/Nigeria; the former military rulers ignored the enforcement of the road safety law and were mainly interested in revenue collection (all Africa.com).

Although Nigerian traffic law stipulates some penalties (see Box1 below) for drinking and driving, due to the fact that the law has never been enforced, it becomes almost impossible to penalise a drink driver and no one has ever been punished. This can be considered a loophole in law enforcement that is frequently abused. Furthermore, according to the Federal Road Safety Commission, Nigeria has a statute against "dangerous driving" but even this law is subject to the lack of proper enforcement, as previously explained. The law is hardly enforced further contributing to fatal accidents (Nigeria police bulletin, 2010).

The Nigerian National Road Traffic Act [CAP. 548] Section 30, bracket (1). This act stipulates the following punishment (Box 1):

Box 1

A person who when driving or attempting to drive, or when in charge of a motor vehicle on a highway is under the influence of drink or a drug to such an extent as to be incapable of having proper control of such vehicle, is guilty of an offence under this Act and liable on conviction to a fine of (₦400) four hundred Naira [£1.50] or to imprisonment for two years or to both such fine and imprisonment.

The federal law concerning the consumption of alcohol while driving (Box 1) is inadequately implemented. Some Nigerian State Governments have taken minor steps to prevent these accidents from happening. In April 2010, Governor Gabriel Suswam of Benue State declared that law enforcement officials have been given full authority to penalise anyone who is caught driving under the influence of alcohol endangering their own and public safety (Nigeria police bulletin, 2010). The problem with this declaration is that there is ineffective control of the alcohol impairment law. However, driving under the influence of alcohol still remains the norm whilst driving motor vehicles in Nigeria.

Blood Alcohol Concentration (BAC) and Drink Driving

There is a considerable body of evidence, which comes from the literature on blood alcohol concentration (BAC) limits in Western countries. Drivers' inability to make quick decisions under the influence of alcohol increases the likelihood of involvement in road traffic accidents (WHO, 2009). In some countries, lower BAC limits are set for young, inexperienced drivers and for operators of commercial vehicles (WHO, 2009), but in Nigeria none of these have been applied, and the general public have no knowledge of BAC limits. Due to the high social cost associated with alcohol impaired driving, there is currently a trend in most countries throughout the world to make the control of lower (BAC) levels more stringent (Assum, 2002; Wagenaar, et al., 2007). In Nigeria, there is no evidence of BAC law, as the majority of law enforcement officers lack knowledge of BAC limits; this is discussed in more detail in the findings chapters. There is evidence that BAC reductions may serve to discourage more people from drinking and driving as reported by Wagenaar, et al. (2007). According to Simpson, et al., (2004), although changes to BAC levels may have some influence in reducing impaired driving among the population, research shows that the "hard core" drink driving drivers and recidivist drunk drivers may be entirely indifferent to BAC level legislation, and other strategies may have to be developed. In spite of overwhelming global research and legislation on BAC limits, the law on drinking and driving in Nigeria is based on CAP 548 (Road traffic Act, section 30 (1)) (*FRSC, Highway Code*, 2002), Box 1 above. The interpretation of this law is debatable without a scientific benchmark to assess the level of impairment. Nigerian law enforcement officers are compelled to use their discretion at the expense of

scientific tools to determine the legal limit for drinking and driving. In Lagos/Nigeria, the penalty for driving under the influence of alcohol (DUI) is ₦400 (£1.50). The average monthly salary in Lagos/Nigeria is around ₦25,000, an indication that the authorities are not yet serious about the control and enforcement of drinking and driving in spite of the current situation on the roads. Nigeria is one of the few countries without effective law and enforcement on BAC levels, as shown in Table 3 below.

The legally defined BAC levels and measures to ensure compliance and enforcement vary from country to country throughout the world ranging from 0.01g/dl to 0.10 g/dl per 100ml of blood (see Table 3). Some countries have no BAC limits in place, and the majority of the countries in Africa have either no enforcement or very poor levels of enforcement. Nigeria is one of the countries with very poor or no enforcement at all.

Table 3 shows the level of enforcement, ranging from 0 to 10, where 0 is ineffective, with lack of enforcement and control, whilst 10 is highly effective and highly controlled and enforced. In comparing Nigeria to other countries in the world it can be seen that BAC law is not enforced and is not effective in Nigeria (table 3 below).

Table 3

<u>Country</u>	<u>Standard BAC (g/dl)</u>	<u>Enforcement level</u>
Austria	0.05	10
Angola	None	-
Belgium	0.05	3
Benin	None	-

Brazil	0.02	6
Burkina Faso	None	-
Burundi	0.01	1
Botswana	0.8	7
Chad	0.08	0
Cameroon	0.08	3
DR Congo	0.05	5
Gambia	None	-
Ghana	0.08	3
India	0.03	3
Malawi	0.08	4
Mali	None	-
Mozambique	0.07	7
Niger	None	-
Nigeria	0.05	2
Rwanda	0.08	8
Sierra Leone	0.08	3
Sudan	0.00	10
South Africa	0.5	3
Uganda	0.08	3
United Kingdom	0.8	10
United States	0.8/1.0	10
Zambia	0.08	1
Zimbabwe	0.08	3

Adapted from (WHO, 2014) Global Status report

Insights from project assessments and literature on Drink Driving in Nigeria

In acknowledgment of the fact that alcohol is extensively consumed globally and that its abuse can have negative outcomes, the foremost international alcohol producers have dedicated themselves to making a considerable attempt in 2010-2012 to address the harmful use of alcohol through Global Actions on Harmful Drinking. They launched three critical initiatives to address the issues of driving under the influence of alcohol, self-regulation systems for the marketing and advertising of beverage alcohol and the issue of non-commercial alcohol. The Global Actions initiatives which aim to encourage responsible drinking and discourage excessive or irresponsible drinking, focused on 18 low - and middle-income nations, including Nigeria. The International Centre for Alcohol Policies (ICAP) is the leading coordinating organisation for the initiatives (Global Status Report on Road Safety, 2009)

The programme of action for the drink-driving initiative is guided by the Global Road Safety Partnership's Good Practice Manual on Drinking and Driving and focuses on:

- Capacity building;
- Projects at the home level;
- Monitoring, assessment and propagation of good practice.

The six priority countries where there is a drink driving issue have been identified as China, Colombia, Mexico, Nigeria, Russia, and Vietnam. The primary step in this initiative is to carry out a situation assessment of drink driving in each country.

In Lagos/Nigeria, Raitas Communications was assigned to carry out the situation assessment of drinking and driving problem in Nigeria. In commissioning its evaluation, Raitas interviewed key informants across Nigerian society. The study revealed that all the respondents interviewed displayed a high degree of understanding of the hazards of drinking and driving and admitted that it is a causal factor in road accidents, although the informants' views concerning the degree of this problem varied considerably. Raitas established that even though no accurate statistical analysis has been carried out in Nigeria regarding drink driving due to insufficient data on the subject, it is believed that drink driving is at crisis level in the nation. One of the studies carried out by Raitas in Lagos indicated that the driving population has little knowledge of the legal blood alcohol concentration (BAC) limit in Lagos/Nigeria, and the subject is seldom raised in public discussions about alcohol-associated problems (The Global Status Report on Road Safety, 2009). The Federal Government of Nigeria has recently initiated a few projects to deal with the issue of BAC limits, without any conclusive outcomes. They plan to implement breath alcohol testing for drivers suspected of driving under the influence of alcohol, in addition to collecting data at the scene of road traffic accidents for further study, and conducting research on other risk factors (The Global Status Report on Road Safety, 2009). However, a date for commencement was not specified and the programme had not started at the date of writing this report in December 2014.

While recognising the significance of addressing the problems concerning driving under the influence of alcohol, many respondents underlined the need to deal with other major road safety risk factors, preferably in collaboration

with a broad array of government agencies, global development organisations, the private sector, civil society and all the stakeholders.

The Raitas study indicated that commercial vehicle drivers (the classification of commercial drivers is shown below), are the main contributors to road traffic accidents in Nigeria due to driving under the influence of alcohol. Their influence on road traffic accidents and the economy is relatively high. The highest risk drivers are those who have to drive long distances, such as taxi drivers, bus drivers and truck drivers. Their practice of drink driving is associated with the persistent opinion and common notion that they must be alert while on a long journey. The Raitas study found that these commercial vehicle drivers are unaware of the hazards associated with driving under the influence of alcohol. In most cases, even if the drivers have consumed an amount of alcohol, they still felt they needed one more drink before setting off on their journey in order to “see clearly on the highway” and to be able to keep awake. The Raitas study revealed the following statistics: prevalence of commercial drivers, driving under the influence of alcohol: 67.2%; of this 67.2%, around 47% were classified as heavy drinkers, 15.3% were tagged as moderate and the remaining 37.7% were classified as mild drinkers.

One of the major contributing factors to the use of alcohol by these commercial drivers is the sale of alcoholic beverages at the motor parks (terminuses) and shops across the country. The majority of drivers who stop at these motorway restaurants are unable to pay for an overnight stay at a hotel, so, in order to fall asleep in their trucks, they consume large amounts of alcoholic beverages. Some of them who are unable to sleep carry on with

their journey under the influence of alcohol (The Global Status Report on Road Safety, 2009).

Commercial drivers, who are the commercial drivers in Lagos/Nigeria? The commercial drivers include passenger bus drivers, taxi drivers, haulage truck drivers, goods lorry drivers, and luxury coach drivers. It is not uncommon for an unemployed person to learn how to drive within a few days or weeks, and then borrow money from friends and family to purchase an old and badly maintained passenger bus and started moving passengers and goods from place to place. These drivers are usually without insurance or proper registration for the vehicle, and they lack knowledge of the Highway Code, have insufficient driving experience, and routinely drive under the influence of alcohol, especially in Lagos. The surge in the proliferation of privately run commercial transportation in Lagos/Nigeria is due to the lack of control and regulation in the sector. People see it as a way of making an easy living rather than as a responsible professional job in a very important sector of the economy required to support the nation and to move the economy of the state/country forward. Does a commercial driver have to have a special driving licence in Nigeria? In theory, yes, all commercial drivers have to undergo special training, testing and assessments before being allowed to drive commercial buses, taxis, and haulage Lorries. But due to official lapses, anyone could drive a taxi or commercial bus ferrying passengers and goods up and down the country without a proper driving licence. Even those who possess a commercial driving license may not have been to the training institute before they obtained it. Findings by this research during field observation studies show that anyone can obtain a commercial driving licence

at any time in Lagos/Nigeria. Drink driving is not restricted to poor commercial drivers alone or private car owners; even law enforcement officers, highly placed politicians and very well educated professionals are also involved in drink driving. However, commercial vehicle drivers are the area of main concern for both the state government and the private sector. The state government agencies in mutual efforts with the private sector have initiated some limited campaigns that are directed towards educating these drivers about the importance of traffic laws and the hazards of driving under the influence of alcohol (The Global Status Report on Road Safety, 2009). Recently, a number of private sector operators joined forces with government agencies in order to introduce the 'Don't Drink and Drive' schemes to develop road safety awareness in Nigeria. The Global Actions in Nigeria propose to work directly with beverage alcohol sponsors, with road safety partners in the government, the private sector, and civil society to reinforce the capability of local stakeholders to execute effectual drinking and driving interventions and operations.

The beverage alcohol industry has expressed disquiet concerning the frequency of drinking and driving in Nigeria. Over the years, alcohol manufacturers have executed commercial alcohol policies; they have actively directed their workers' behaviour and discourage them from drinking and driving as part of their main business obligation to endorse responsible use of their products. They have also initiated many responsible drinking proposals focused on their customers and the general public (Mattila, et al., 2002). They have jointly organised a road show campaign on 'no drink while driving on the

road' with stakeholders and the general public, and they have also sponsored action on drink driving with the drivers' union in Lagos/Nigeria.

There have been very few studies devoted to statistically analysing alcohol-related vehicular accidents in Nigeria (Anumonye, Omoniwa & Adaraniyo, 2004) and the few studies that have been completed to date provide some starkly different results and some of the studies are over twenty years old. The Asogwa (1980) study reported a 7.7% alcohol prevalence rate. The study involved a sample of 1,296 subjects; the method used consisted of interviews with the subjects; which is not as reliable as a smaller study (Aguwa, 1982) which involved only 32 subjects identified a very high rate of 56% alcohol prevalence involving vehicular accidents in Nigeria, Aguwa rate appears to be more reliable than Asogwa's findings since the latter interviewed only all the elderly people in the household, while Aguwa interviewed people age between 21 and 35 years old randomly in the community. Elderly people are most likely to give false answers to the research questions; this is due to the fact that in a traditional Nigerian setting, the elders regard strangers coming to question them as a kind of intrusion into their tradition and may not give true and accurate answers. Taken together, the aforementioned statistics also roughly suggest that the prevalence of alcohol in road traffic accidents is on the increase in Nigeria, but there are few facts upon which to make precise estimates. However, although some of the studies are dated, that does not make the data unreliable, and, as previously explained, the majority of accidents in the rural areas are not reported. According to Anumonye, et al. (2004), the paucity of relevant and timely research highlights the need for future studies in this area. Akuta (2009), an activist campaigning on behalf of

improved road conditions and more rigorous enforcement of drink driving laws in Nigeria, states that the Nigerian law enforcement authorities and other departmental authorities do not routinely aggregate road traffic accident data in any fashion whatsoever due in large part to a lack of resources. In this regard, Akuta (2009) emphasises that, “Some road accidents in Nigeria might have been caused by drink driving. But since these statistics are not available, it becomes difficult to actually ascertain the number of road accidents that are as a result of drink driving” Akuta, (2009).

Other factors are believed to play a role in contributing to motor vehicle accidents in general, including “bad roads, narrow roads, heavy dependence on road transport, government neglect, poor state of vehicles on Nigerian roads, careless driving/careless drivers and excessive speeding” Akuta, (2009, pp.3). However, this activist makes the point that more rigorous enforcement of the nation’s existing drink driving laws is “do-able” in the short-term and will do more to stop the incidence of alcohol-related accidents, injuries and deaths than repairing Nigeria’s entire road network Akuta, (2009). Nevertheless, even in this area, the national and local governments in Nigeria have not enacted legislation that applies to every local road making enforcement particularly problematic. In response, Akuta recommends that, “The Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) and other law enforcement agencies should enforce all laws on drink driving in all the roads in Nigeria. Where none exists at the moment, the Federal Road Safety Commission should work with relevant authorities and stakeholders at local level to enforce the existing limited traffic laws and introduce a bill to the National Assembly to make careless and drink driving on all types of road in Nigeria an offence

punishable with stiff penalties” Akuta, (2009, pp.4). Indeed, this authority suggests that ‘most’ drivers in Nigeria, as described earlier, drink alcohol prior to getting behind the wheel, including commercial drivers of large tractor-trailer rigs and even public transport vehicles such as buses Akuta, (2009) reported.

According to Gboyega (2012), about 45% of commercial drivers and 25% of private drivers reported hazardous levels of alcohol consumption. Hazardous drinking was predicted by age, education, income, proximity to alcohol outlets, neighbourhood density, optimistic bias and perceived drinking norms even when all variables were included in the regression model according to Gboyega. These variables accounted for a substantial proportion of variance in predicting hazardous drinking. Gboyega, (2012) concluded that psychological, environmental and demographic variables are important in understanding hazardous drinking among drivers and should be incorporated into intervention for reducing drivers’ hazardous drinking, including drinking and driving in Lagos/Nigeria.

The tendency for drinking and driving has contributed to an inordinately large number of pedestrian injuries and deaths attributable to alcohol in the larger urban areas of the country. There are no statistics from rural areas but this does not make them immune to the road carnage. In addition, Eke (2000) reports that, “Recently, in Nigeria, motorcycles have become a popular means of transportation especially in the urban areas, as fewer people can maintain their cars. Motorcycle and pedestrian accidents occur in vulnerable individuals lacking the relative physical protection afforded by cars and buses. These accidents result in major multiple injuries in the patients” (Eke, 2000, pp.37).

Most countries assign a severe penalty for drinking and driving offences. For instance, Davenport (2006) emphasises that, “because of the high societal costs, it is hardly surprising that states impose severe penalties for driving under the influence of alcohol as a method of deterrence” (Davenport, 2006. 849). According to Brown and Singhal (1999), Nigeria has enjoyed some success with televised public awareness messages concerning improved agricultural practices in the past and recommend adopting this medium for educating the Nigerian public concerning the hazards associated with driving under the influence of alcohol.

The social and economic impact of drink driving in Nigeria is difficult to gauge with any precision because of the dearth of relevant studies concerning the problem. The prevalence, severity and impact of drink driving is considerably higher in Nigeria than in other African and Euro-American countries, therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that alcohol-related traffic accidents represent a very real threat to the social and economic progress of Nigeria today. This observation is also congruent with Akuta's argument, “Unless somebody can find a way to change the nature of careless and drink driving situation in Nigeria, we will have more death and carnage on the road. Careless and drink driving can cause accidents. Accidents devastate lives and can cause deaths. Deaths are losses to the nation and the various families” Akuta, (2009, pp.4).

While it is reasonable to posit that the increased use of alcohol by Nigerians in recent years has contributed to the costs of law enforcement, road traffic accidents and the incidence of domestic violence, there remains a paucity of studies and statistics concerning these issues and reliable statistical data is unavailable. In this regard, Heath (1995) emphasises that notwithstanding the

significant availability and consumption patterns of alcohol in Nigeria, the limited statistics concerning alcohol-related social and law enforcement issues is proof positive of massive under-reporting; it is impossible to find any literature on the cost of alcohol consumption and law enforcement in Lagos/Nigeria. According to Giesbrecht and his associates, "In large part, this is a function of the failure to define alcohol as responsible for substantial numbers of health and social problems. In fact, there are no laws in respect of drunkenness per se, except when it leads to a breach of the law. Furthermore, there is no law concerning the blood-alcohol level above which one is not permitted to drive. Police incidents reports in Lagos/Nigeria never indicate the presence or absence of alcohol in assaults and road-traffic accidents" (Giesbrecht, et al, 1999). What is definitely known about alcohol use in Nigeria is that, "alcohol abuse disrupts social, occupational, interpersonal and marital life and also induces criminal behaviour" (World Health Organisation, 2003).

The comparative lack of effective laws and policies on drinking and driving and the many cultural, social and economic factors which increase the propensity of people to drink and drive, create an environment and a culture which are likely to perpetuate the problem and which is likely to prove difficult to change. It is within this difficult context that law enforcement officers are required to respond to driving under the influence of alcohol.

Law enforcement and the role of the police

As reported by Nagin (1998), the start of many issues about law and order is about compliance to authority, since the aim of any laws and legal authorities is to maintain social order in society. The issue addressed by “why people obey the law” is how compliance to the law can best be maintained in society. Within the last few years, the approach in Nigeria to securing compliance has been through threat or by punishment. The use of deterrence and punishment permeated all policy areas and has remained the main approach to maintaining social order since the last century (Nagin, 1998).

Brief overview of deterrence theory

Deterrence theory has its origins in the work of early utilitarian’s including Cesare Beccaria (1738–1794) and Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and is rooted in rational choice theory. Deterrence theory assumes that people are rational actors who weigh up the costs and benefits when deciding whether to offend. Underpinning the theory is the idea that people will commit crimes to the extent they are more pleasurable than painful, so that certain, severe, and swift legal punishments increase the pain for crimes and will deter people from committing them (Stafford and Deibert, 2007). Policies that are based on deterrence theory apply sanctions share some commonalities, including the severity and certainty of punishment (Houston and Richardson 2004).

In sum, deterrence theory holds that increases in the likelihood of being caught, the severity of the imposed penalty, and the rapidity with which

punishment is carried out increases the price of undesirable behaviours (Houston and Richardson 2004). Deterrence theory also holds that people are rational actors who recognize the relative costs of engaging in certain behaviours and will continue to behave in a given fashion unless and until the costs outweigh the perceived benefits of such behaviours (Houston and Richardson 2004). Despite the individual variances in the cost-benefit analysis, everyone performs these types of assessments with respect to undesirable behaviours (Houston and Richardson 2004).

In practice, though, the application of deterrence theory in isolation from other interventions has not been shown effective in reducing recidivism rates for drink driving drivers, and studies have shown that between 20% to 30% of drivers convicted for drink driving has a previous drink driving offence on their records in the USA (Freeman and Liossis 2006). These trends have caused some policymakers to question the efficacy of deterrence theory for drink driving purposes since this population appears to be unconcerned about the threat of potential legal consequences of their behaviours (Freeman and Liossis 2006).

Identifying optimal approaches to combat drink driving in Nigeria is vitally important because alcohol is the single largest factors involved in fatal car crashes today (Houston and Richardson 2004). Therefore, deterrence theorists argue that laws against driving under the influence of alcohol should be overly inclusive and should apply to everyone who engages in drinking and driving despite enormous differences in the effects that alcohol can have on different individuals (Fissell 2014). Despite the fact that some people have higher levels of tolerance to alcohol than others, laws founded on deterrence

theory are appropriate because they contribute to the greater good (Fissell 2014). In other words, "Harm itself is not directly prohibited, nor is risk of the harm -- instead it is the expected or potential cause of the risk" (Fissell 2014, p. 658).

One of the problems that have consistently been associated with applying deterrence theory to drink driving laws is a lack of evidence that stricter punishments result in reduced levels of driving under the influence of alcohol (Varma and Doob, 1999). Although legislators who are intent on adopting a tough stance on drink driving are usually well meaning, this simplistic solution to a complex problem has frequently failed to produce the desired outcomes in the past (Varma and Doob 1999). In fact, deterrence is the most often cited of all the utilitarian objectives of criminal sentencing policies (Varma and Doob 1999). According to Varma and Doob (1999, p. 166), "This is not surprising since the idea of deterrence has intuitive appeal to the general public, politicians, and judges. If judges can make the 'costs' of an offence more onerous than the derived benefits, individuals will be deterred from committing offences."

Clearly, though, given the intractability of the drink driving problem in Nigeria to date, even draconian laws against driving while intoxicated have failed to produce the desired outcomes. Some authorities argue that a harm reduction model is more appropriate for sentencing drink driving offenders since this approach links individual offender characteristics with punishments (Enos 2006). In addition, other authorities maintain that including a rehabilitation component in drink driving sentencing is the only effective approach to reducing recidivism rates in the future (Enos, 2006). Nevertheless, as noted

above, a large percentage of the drink driving population appears immune to threats of the consequences of legal sanctions, thereby diminishing the effectiveness of deterrence theory for these applications.

The rationale behind deterrence theory is the assumption that punishment discourages and prevents crime and encourages obedience to the law (Piquero et al, 2011). However, the findings of studies and reports are mixed. According to Freeman and Liossis (2006) report, some oppose this assumption or rationale in the punishment, in fact, reduces or weakens compliance to law. Others say that punishment has no effect on compliance. And still others say that compliance depends on moderating factors. These factors are individual differences in social bonding, morality, discount rate, impulsiveness, social network position, competence in decision-making, and the nature of the situation (Piquero et al, 2011).

Individual response to the threat of punishment is not automatic and even responses vary in either expected or unexpected ways (Piquero et al, 2011). Knowing the differences is crucial to formulating more effective policies to deter crime. Criminologists aim to identify and evaluate the causes and sources of these differences and the types of risks or rewards that induce or encourage crime (McCarthy, 2002 cited in Piquero et al). The situational factors are just as important in rendering decisions (Jacobs, 2010 cited in Piquero et al). If Punishment was certain, the potential offender may be prevented from committing the crime out of fear of arrest. And if the offender thinks before committing the crime, their behaviour may be influenced if the punishment that awaits them is very severe. A problem with both conditions is the assumption that human beings always act in a rational way and would

consider the consequences of a future action in advance. Reports say that half of all state prisoners in the USA were under the influence of alcohol or drugs at the time they committed the offense, thus not have been capable of fully understanding the severity of punishment. However, the literature suggests that the certainty of being caught is a much more powerful deterrent than the punishment (Nagin, 2013)

A 100% certainty of apprehension for crime would also discourage potential offenders (Wright, 2010). But the fact is that most crimes, even serious ones, do not all end in arrests and conviction. Many offenders take the chance that they will not be apprehended and punished. There is strong evidence that crime and imprisonment can both be reduced if law and policy makers place less reliance on severity of punishment, long sentences and more on the certainty of punishment and the greater probability of detection (Nagin, 2013).

The use of deterrence approaches: Implications for law enforcers

The wide range of factors to consider in the choice of deterrence methods can be as ineffective as it is frustrating to law enforcers (Piquero et al, 2011). People react differently to sanction threats and to punishment and do not automatically react to deterrent threats and the imposition of punishment. Their reactions are also unpredictable. This situation puts law enforcement officers at a loss and confusion or outright embarrassment, if not also a lawsuit. Exploring the basis for these differences in response to deterrence is crucial to the formulation of more effective policies. Criminologists should get to the bottom of these differences in detecting the hidden influences behind crime (Piquero et al).

Law enforcement's own insights on deterrence are as valuable. When asked, 82% of law enforcement officials believe that criminals do not consider possible punishment before committing crime (Paciotti, 2005). Neither are criminal sanctions effective in deterring other types of crimes, such as drinking and then driving and domestic violence. Instead, they perceive informal sanctions from peers like shame and parental punishments as more important and likely to be more effective deterrents (Paciotti, 2005).

Legitimacy: tensions between legitimacy and deterrence approaches

Legitimacy is the concept, which underlies citizen compliance to the law and cooperation with legal authority, perceived by the citizens as fair (Ouziel, 2015). With a legitimate basis for criminal justice system, an understanding of the sources of its criminal enforcement power is well-entrenched and validated. Its components are authority, community, and personal morality. These interact with the tangible and intangible differences in legitimacy. The tangible differences are the leaders' legal rules, resources and caseloads. The intangible differences are enhanced citizen trust, the jury's alignment with the prosecuting authority and the majority of the electorate, social norms, and moral credibility (Ouziel, 2015).

There are at least two important outcomes to criminal power and its legitimacy (Ouziel, 2015). One is that it does not only develop out but also signifies the interaction between crime and policing. The system's of acquisition of legitimacy by violating or abrogating criminal justice system, by beat policing, by jury pools, and firm court house norms. A third is by

incorporating the legitimacy features of the system into the general systems so as to remain aligned with the system. At the same time, local systems can preserve or even improve localism (Ouizel, 2015).

The tension between legitimacy and deterrence lies in the inconsistency of laws and systems between the federal and the local governments and their respective systems (Ouizel, 2015). There is no uniformity as to which sovereign can prosecute which crime. Every local or state government is autonomous, although states and local governments can agree on certain laws. But their very autonomy will always create that tension (Ouizel, 2015).

The main objective of the law and the action of the authorities is to gain compliance of the citizens with the law. This includes compliance of a particular decisions made by the authorities such as judges and law enforcement officers. The key objective is to bring people's and their behaviours in line with the law (Tyler, 2006). At the same time, the authority should not take public compliance with the law for granted. While most people comply with the law most of the time, legal authorities are confronted with sufficient noncompliance the report concluded.

Deterrence alone cannot be the only way to make people obey law and order in a civilized society. Tyler (2010) reported that present policies reflect a psychological framework of social control known as deterrence, the use of punishment to correct people's behaviour and attitudes. This is what dictates how law enforcement officers behave in their everyday contact with the public; it supports policies such as profiling, tolerance policing, and the use of arrest and detection as the main weapons of law enforcement officers. Tyler also

reported that punishment, either real or presumed, is not the best way to police citizens effectively. This may be true because punishment is not the best way to make people obey the law. Its use and enforcement could undermine self-compliance with the law, which could greatly help the police in performing their duties. Deterrence is one main strategy, which is based on the belief that the primary motivating factors in human behaviour are incentives, enforcement and sanctions.

The first contribution of “Why People Obey the Law” by Tyler was to provide support for the value of legitimacy as a motivating force in the field of law. The findings of this study highlighted that legitimacy was far more important than the risk of being caught and punished after breaking the law. Tyler’s report maintained that in the last few years, studies have shown that people obey the law and cooperate with authorities when they view the authorities as legitimate. Legitimacy is a product of how law enforcement officers treat the citizens when they are exercising their enforcement power. Fairness in decision-making and neutral behaviour is very important. Tyler also commented that fairness of law enforcement officers and not the fear of police and threat of punishment and imprisonment create legitimacy in the eyes of the people. Tyler suggested that authorities should focus their resources on the concerns of the citizens and care about people’s experiences with law enforcement officers, not just their outcomes. Sometimes less important situations and contact with the law enforcement officer when the person is not arrested can have an influence on people’s views and opinions about the police and will influence their views about the legitimacy of the police authority.

According to Tyler, there is the need to measure police legitimacy when judging police and policing practice, not just for arresting and releasing offenders but this should include responsibility to the public. The public will always hold law enforcement officers accountable to deliver just and fair justice. It is important to focus on the influence of enforcement officers, policies, practices and the way the public view the legitimacy of law enforcement officers.

According to Beetham, (1991) and Tyler (1990), authority should have legitimacy in the eyes of the people so that the people will feel that the authority and the institution need to be respected and obeyed. The people should accept the rule of law and order and respect the authority. The report commented that the feeling of the people that they have to obey the authorities is not because the authority has the power to punish the citizens, but because the citizens believe that the authority is entitled to be obeyed and respected (Beetham, 1991).

Tyler reported that success in policing and enforcement depends upon support from the general public. The report concluded that it is crucial that the law enforcement officers possessed the necessary skill to handle criminally minded citizens, the hard- to-manage people, in a ways that will lead the public to obey authority.

When people view legal and law enforcement authorities as fair, and see that they distribute judgment and justice fairly, they will accept and cooperate with law enforcement authorities and will give the authority the legitimacy it deserves. Tyler, (2011) commented that the police will gain acceptance when

they are viewed by the public as fair and just to those who break the rules (risk), and managing crime and criminality effectively (performance), and fairly (distributive fairness). According to the report, if the authorities are unfair in the way they deal with the people, it leads to alienation, disobedience and confrontations between the people and the authority. Tyler (2011) also reported that procedural justice is based on the legitimacy of the police; when the police distribute justice fairly, it enhances their legitimacy in the eyes of the people. Tyler (2004) model suggests that law enforcement authorities have to develop and maintain legitimacy through their effectiveness and fairness in fighting crime and distributing justice fairly.

Harcourt, (2001), reported that legitimacy of the law enforcement authority in the eyes of the people is very important to enable the relationship between the police and the public to flourish; this will help the police to perform their duties effectively. If the public views the police as legitimate, then they are more likely to obey the police and the law. Tyler (2004) compares the way in which people believe the legitimacy of the police will guide their behaviours with the degree of influence of instrumental factors which shape people's behaviour. When people believe that their action could lead them to being punished for wrongdoing (risk), they will refrain from wrongdoing and obey the law to avoid being caught. Law enforcement strategies rely on the belief that people will obey the law and desist from engaging in criminal activities if they fear getting caught and punished (Kelling & Coles, 1996). It is believed that the best way to manage public antisocial behaviour is by making antisocial behaviours very risky. This could be achieved by increasing the number of officers on the street and also increasing the numbers of patrols of

known trouble areas, increasing arrests, and increasing the punishment or use of force by the enforcement authority (Silverman, 1999). As reported by Silverman, (1999) crime and law and order control and management depends on public cooperation. When the public views the police as legitimate, they are more likely to assist the police with crime prevention. Silverman (1999) reported that people will help the police to fight crime when they think that the police are legitimate and effective in managing crime, disorder and are fair in dealing with the citizens. If the police are viewed as effective, the citizens may view the help the police have to offer as more important because it leads to concrete results. As for deterrence, the view of public support is very important in evaluations of authority, (Skogan 1990). The judgements and opinions about the police legitimacy and their willingness to assist the police are important. If the police are believed to be legitimate, they are given the opportunity to perform their duties. When they are not believed to be legitimate, their actions are subject to question, their decisions are not accepted, and their directives are disobeyed. Sarat, (1977) wrote that in the distributive justice environment, people will support and empower the law authorities when they believe that those authorities distribute law enforcement services fairly across all groups (Sarat 1977). In distributive justice people will be more willing to give power, respect and legitimacy to legal authorities when they feel that these authorities deliver justice fairly to people. Sarat (1977) argues that the demand for fair justice is very important when the public are gauging the police and the court authority. According to Sarat (1977), perception of unequal treatment is the most important source of dissatisfaction with law enforcement authorities and the legal system.

Evidence shows that equal protection, which is the single value people find most important, is usually betrayed by the police authority, lawyers, judges, and the state legal instruments. According to (Tyler, 2002) addressing the issues of **Why People Obey the Law** makes the argument for the relationship between the members of these groups, organizations, societies and the authorities and institutions which govern the people, and that these need not be based upon an exchange of rewards or punishments-based approach to social control. Tyler, (2002) also reported that it is possible to engage the citizens once the citizens believe in the legitimacy of the police which will lead to a self-regulatory approach toward law enforcement authorities in which people voluntarily respect the authorities and institutions because they view doing so as part of their responsibility to the law enforcement authorities and the state.

Public support for law enforcement approaches

Policing is founded on procedural justice who in turn is psychological in nature (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). It fundamentally assumes that the public's estimation of the legitimacy of policing influences public obedience to the law. It also assumes that they are willing to abide by, cooperate with, and help the police as well as empower the citizens (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). These were the main findings of a recent study conducted on the subject.

This estimation of legitimacy was the major predictor of public regard for the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The other assumptions identified aspects of community residents' perception of the police. Legitimacy remained important

in each of these minor assumptions. The findings clearly reveal that legitimacy is a social value, which is separate from performance evaluation and that social value or estimation significantly and distinctively influences public support for law enforcement. Legitimacy is a strong basis for public support independent of police performance. The findings also strongly point to the ethical nature of public estimation and support of police obligations and responsibility. These are essential elements of public support for them (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Public estimation of law enforcement officers is connected to its basic social values (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). It agrees to the argument given by Weber (1968 as cited in Sunshine & Tyler) on the normative basis and nature of public reaction to authority. It supports previous study findings that cooperation and empowerment, besides compliance, are influenced by legitimacy. At the same time, the findings refute the perception or opinion that fighting crime will inevitably alienate the public. By strongly considering the public's views about police legitimacy, the police or law enforcement officers can improve their public image. They can be more effective in an objective way by observing and assuring compliance with the law and practice greater discretion in the performance of their regular duties (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Social Identities and Professional Identities with Respect to Police Identities

While consideration of deterrence methods and its impact on public perceptions of the legitimacy of the law and its enforcement as outline in the

previous section, it is important to consider law enforcement around drink driving, it is also necessary to look at law enforcement officers' own views on legitimacy and consider how they may experience issues of professional identity.

In this regard, Johnson, Morgeson, Ilgen et al. (2008, pp. 492) report that, "Work-related identities are important to people and often influence their sense of self more than do personal characteristics such as gender, race, or ethnicity."

An individual's social identity is constantly changing in response to interactions with others and changes in a society's cultural meanings (Taylor & Spencer, 2004). In addition, social identity is fiercely political in nature with ongoing attempts to avoid, stabilize or maintain images and meanings (Taylor & Spencer, 2004). According to Taylor and Spencer (2004, pp. 4), "These transformations are apparent in every domain, and the relationships between these constructions reflect and reinforce power relations." Given the universality of social identities, it is possible to discern important issues that can promote or degrade the quality of communications between people. In this regard, Taylor and Spencer (2004, pp. 4) emphasize that, "By studying social identities, we gain insight into the complex range of factors influencing the way we see ourselves, the way we are seen by others and the pressures exerted on individuals to readjust or at least prioritize some social agendas over others." This has particular relevance for the study of Lagosians/Nigerians police officers' sense of professional identity, their views on the factors which facilitate or detract from professional identity and hence their ability to carry out their enforcement duties effectively.

Individuals' social identities can be associated with subgroups within an organization or they can be associated with the organization as a whole (Johnson et al. 2008). Although there remains a paucity of timely and relevant research in the area, there is a potential for individuals to identify more strongly with their extra-organizational work-related groups than with their organizations as a whole (Johnson et al. 2008). In this context, Johnson and his associates (2008, pp. 493) report that, "Occupations fall on a professionalization continuum; the more professional occupations (e.g., medical doctors, attorneys, architects) are distinguished from less professional occupations on 19 dimensions such as specialized education and skill based on theoretical knowledge." When professionals are compelled to identify with more than one identity target, they may experience cognitive dissonance for two primary reasons as follows:

1. Professionals may identify more strongly with their profession than with their employing organization, producing potential conflicts between professionals and their organization's expectations for their behaviour; and,
2. Professionals may be more committed to their profession than to their employing organization, potentially leading to greater turnover and less prosaically organizational behaviour (Johnson et al. 2008, pp. 493).

This has particular importance to the study of Law enforcement officers' who feel more sense of identity with, and commitment to their profession rather than their employer. This may lead to conflicts over what the officers regard as appropriate professional behaviour and what is expected by their

employer. In this regard there could be a conflict of interest between the officers, their employers and the public which they serve.

The research to date confirms that people wear a number of “hats” in their day-to-day lives that influence the manner in which they interrelate with others. For instance, Taylor and Spencer point out that, Investigations into social identity show that we have many dimensions. For example, a person is not simply working class. This person may also be defined in terms of gender, ethnicity, sexuality, nationality and adherence to or rejection of particular religious or spiritual views.

By contrast, Lewis and Hatch (2008) suggest that professional identities are more static in nature and subsume social identities as well as other factors in the working environment. In this regard, Lewis and Hatch (2008, pp. 116) report that, “Professional identity is complex and best viewed eco-contextually to include social identities such as race, ethnicity, religion, economic status, social class, gender, nationality, chosen interests, sexual identity, politics, and personal history.” For those in positions of authority such as law enforcement authorities, professional identities are especially important since they communicate to others what can reasonably be expected from them in terms of their values, performance and behaviours, all with a view towards achieving respect and validation. For instance, Lewis and Hatch (2008, pp. 116) add that, “Professional identity is embedded in and connected to a multilayered network of ecological relationships that influence both our inner and outer worlds-an inner world where we aspire to author our own identities, and an outer world where we seek to be recognized and validated as professionals.” Moreover, professional identities can even be in competition with each other.

Clearly, police officers, too, have multiple identities and there may be tensions between personal and professional identities which are relevant as they may impact on how an officer carries out their duties. According to Robertson (2011, pp. 603), "Medical, legal, and other professionals in large organizations must deal with two competing identities-one tied to their membership in a profession, and one tied to their role in supporting the organizational mission." Consequently, professional identities for law enforcement authorities can be in conflict unless there is an overarching compatible goal for each (Robertson 2011). Likewise, Bewley-Taylor and Elvins (2008) suggest that police officers' professional identities must be redefined from time to time as the environment in which they work changes. In this regard, Bewley-Taylor and Elvins (2008, pp. 206) emphasize that, "We are trained in a discipline and it is hard to reach outside of it. Yet all real life policy problems are multi-disciplinary and progress requires collaboration, and that in turn may require at least a partial redefinition of one's professional identity."

Police officers, then, may have to juggle with competing personal, institutional and professional identities and manage these within changing social, political, cultural and professional environments.

Police Professional Identities

A comparative police Studies in the EU by Saskia, (2013), reported that law enforcement officers all over the world are the same, this claim was also accepted by a majority of police officers themselves in this study. However, a closer look at police forces worldwide shows that the way they operate and resolve crime will shape their relationship with society.

Policing style and police cultures differ across countries. Saskia wrote that there is difference of opinion whether guns and other crime-fighting gadgets are a necessary part of police equipment compared with the introduction of community policing or the creation of social media. These differences in police style are not surprising given the differences in the environment, the national police forces and the political, economic, social, and the legal conditions in which law enforcement authorities operate. Clearly, within different structural and institutional environments police officers develop different perspectives on what it means to be a police officer (Saskia, 2013).

Saskia (2013) reported that crime prevention, and protection of lives and properties is the duty of law enforcement authorities all over the world. Law enforcement authorities need to use reasonable force against the public and use tough sanctions if necessary when dealing with the people and those outside the law enforcement authority. Saskia (2013) report also comments that police officers also believe that they should be approachable, hands-on and tolerant towards the traditions, cultural practices, expectations and beliefs of the people they serve. This could be achieved not only by good and modern equipment, but also by a good knowledge of the environment which they served and, most importantly, the resources to perform their duties is crucial. Saskia (2013) reports also claimed that law enforcement officers believed that proper information and intelligence gathering and good equipments are crucial in helping officers to perform their duties effectively in any society. The report further commented that good communication skills with the public and a caring relationship with the public are important to be a successful police officer. The majority of police officers all over the world

claimed that they are crime fighters, restoring justice and acting as a representative of the state, and they regarded their duties as the most important aspects of the police profession.

Saskia (2013) reported that although police officers all over the world shared similar beliefs in many respects, the research showed differences in views and opinions on methods of justice delivery. There are differences in the basic understanding of what it means to be a police officer from country to country and these differences are of practical relevance and the environment in which they practice.

There are historical cases of corruption and deviant conducts which have punctuated the development of police institutions worldwide, especially in developing countries (Ahire, 1991; D.Bayley & Perito, 2011; K. Rotimi, 2011). A study of global institutions reported that police institution in 86 countries by the global anti-corruption institution the Transparency International (TI) in 2010 were judged the fourth corrupt public institutions, narrowly edged out by political parties and public officials (TI, 2010). The study reported that corruption is endemic in sub-Saharan Africa, the newly independent state of the former Soviet bloc, Middle East, and North Africa. In another study by the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) in Nigeria, Zambia and Kenya reported that the police were severely indicted by the members of the public as the least useful law enforcement agency in reducing corruption (ACBF, 2007); the Nigerian police enforcement authority came out the worst in this report. In another study of 23 countries by the World Bank found that ordinary people perceived the police not “as a source of help and security, but rather of harm, risk and impoverishment” (World Bank, cited in power, 2009,

pp. 52), according to this report, people beliefs that police officer is the same is true and correct, police practice is the same, people saw police as enemy the report concluded.

In Nigeria the law enforcement officers pride themselves as above the citizen, lack the rule of law when dealing with the people and take the law into their own hands and abuse their power, hence the lack of legitimacy and respect from the citizens.

Conclusion to this chapter

This chapter has provided the reader with an overview of alcohol consumption trends in Nigeria, factors influencing alcohol consumption, the laws and policies relating to drink driving and issues emerging from the literature on drink driving in Nigeria. Within this broader context, the literature on policing and on professional identity has provided insights into how social, cultural and environmental factors interact with individual, institutional and professional characteristics to influence the individual's sense of self and their sense of legitimacy – in this case, as a law enforcement officer required to respond to drink driving, the control and maintenance of law and order.

3.0 Chapter three: Methodological Considerations

Introduction

This chapter details the overall methodological approach and method for this project and justification for the approach and method chosen.

As stated earlier, the study investigated how different social groups of people and law enforcement officers perceive drink driving, and how law enforcement officers perceive their own roles in dealing with this phenomenon. As this is a largely unexplored area, a central concern was to choose a methodological approach which would permit the development of understanding and knowledge of participants' own perceptions, experiences and understanding of the issues. A phenomenological approach was therefore chosen as a main approach to inform the design and execution of the research. In this study, a phenomenological approach allows an examination of how different social groups of people and, in particular, three different groups of law enforcement officers perceive these two phenomena:

- 1) How law enforcement officers perceive their roles and the challenges they face in relation to driving under the influence of alcohol and how they attempt to meet these challenges.

- 2) In what ways the execution of law enforcement officers responsibilities are influenced by cultural, structural, legislative and practical factors

The focus of phenomenological inquiry is what people experience in regard to some phenomenon or other and how they interpret those experiences (Van Manen 1990). In this regard, looking at multiple perspectives of the same situation, a researcher can start to make generalisations of what something is like as an experience from the insider's perspective. To answer the research questions, this study required an approach which directly investigated the phenomena without necessarily using causal theories or looking at explanations of objective reality. It therefore seeks to understand how people construct meaning. According to (Van Manen 1990), this approach provides an in-depth understanding of individual phenomena and rich data from the experiences of individuals. The researcher must complete the process of bracketing to be aware of his/her own ideas and prejudices about the topic of interest. Bracketing according to Oiler (1986) requires that any assumptions or expectations of the researchers' lived experience should be made explicit as explained later in this chapter.

There are several strengths in phenomenological research approach; it provides a very rich and detailed description of human experience which would not be possible by other means for example if the researcher just gave out a survey to participants to answer question on drink driving situation in Lagos/Nigeria. However there are limitations too, in using this research approach; it may be difficult for the participants to express themselves problems that could cause difficulties include language and how this can be perceived by the researcher.

This approach was felt to be the most appropriate to investigate law enforcement agencies' perceptions about their own roles and their experience

of dealing with the issue of drinking and driving in Lagos/Nigeria as the danger associated with driving under the influence of alcohol has been poorly understood in the society. It also helped the researcher to develop insights into why alcohol consumption is culturally acceptable in Lagos/Nigeria, to understand the impact of cultural and social factors on law enforcement officers' own beliefs and values and to understand the pressures on the role of law enforcement agencies in managing driving under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria.

The Phenomenological approach- theoretical background

Phenomenological theory is informed by differing ontological and epistemological perspectives, with the ontological perspective referring to whether reality is external and objective to the human condition and the epistemological perspective that is concerned with knowledge and how it can be obtained (Scott & Usher, 1996).

Phenomenology is a philosophical approach originally developed by the philosopher Edmund Husserl (Wertz, 2005; Giorgi, 1985). Accordingly, Husserl was mainly concerned with the discovery of meaning and essence in knowledge.

The term 'phenomenon' comes from the Greek word 'phaenesthai' which means to 'appear' or to 'flare up' or 'show up', constructed from the word 'phiano' which means to bring to light or place in brightness (Heidegger, 1962). From a philosophical viewpoint, Spinelli (1989) explained the term

‘phenomenology’ as having partly derived from the Greek word *phainomenon* (plural: *phainomena*), which literally means ‘appearance’ - that which shows itself. Philosophers generally define ‘phenomena’ to mean ‘the appearance of things themselves as they really are’. The world as we experience it is a phenomenal world.

Qualitative methodology is associated with a phenomenological approach. Qualitative research involves describing, exploring and “investigative methodologies, described as ethnographic, naturalistic, anthropological, field, or participant observer research”, *Okstate, (2009) [online]*. It emphasises the importance of looking at variables in the natural setting in which they are found. Interaction between variables is important. Detailed data are gathered in a variety of ways, e.g. through face-to-face semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. The interviewer is an integral part of the investigation (*Okstate, (2009) [online]*).

According to Neuman (2003, pp. 542), qualitative data is “information in the form of words, pictures, sounds, visual images, or objects” (pp. 542). “There appears to be an emerging consensus that a great many central research issues cannot be adequately examined through the kinds of questions that are posed by hypothetical-deductive methods and addressed with quantifiable answers” (Neuman, 2003, pp. 1). Likewise, Crowley (1994) emphasises that, “Researchers have increasingly used qualitative research methods to access traditionally unavailable data”. Far from a unified set of principles, qualitative research methods encompass a range of procedures to select from based on their suitability to the research purpose. This method is the most suitable to investigate the reason why a majority of Nigerians drive under the influence of

alcohol because it allows the researcher to explore the issue of driving under the influence of alcohol from the participants point of view.

Within qualitative methodology, phenomenology is an approach to understanding people's everyday life experiences as discussed earlier. This approach could be divided into descriptive and interpretive phenomenology (Polit and Beck, 2006). Phenomenology is the study of structures of consciousness as experienced from the first person's point of view (Polit and Beck, 2006), therefore as experienced by the police officers in Lagos/Nigeria. According to Welman and Kruger (1999, pp. 189) "the phenomenologist are concerned with understanding social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of people involved". Husserl's philosophical phenomenology provided a point of departure for Alfred Schultz who turned it "toward the ways in which ordinary members of society attend to their everyday lives" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2000, pp. 488-489).

Phenomenology studies the structures of various types of experience ranging from perception, thought, memory, imagination, emotion, desire, body awareness and social activities including linguistic activities (Merleau-Ponty, M; 1996).

For instance, Rock and Kambouropoulos (2007, pp386) used a phenomenological methodology to quantitatively assess and diagram the "urge to drink" states of consciousness and its contribution to the incidence of impaired behaviours. According to these researchers, "One's phenomenology is clearly subjective and that which is subjective is internal, personal, and not available for public scrutiny. Phenomenological instruments or measures have

been used extensively to quantify the subjective effects, example, hallucinogens, hypnosis and visualizing” (Rock & Kambouropoulos, 2007, pp. 387). Based on their analysis of the antecedents to drinking and driving, Rock and Kambouropoulos (2007) concluded that the phenomenological methodology was highly congruent with their needs because it provide fresh insight into the “lived experiences” of their subjects, particularly with respect to how they responded to advertisements and other visual cues that encouraged them to drink to excess and then drive while under the influence of alcohol. In this regard, Rock and Kambouropoulos emphasise that, “The phenomenology of the individual may be a critical factor in understanding alterations in mood and ultimately the urge to drink when confronted with alcohol cues” Rock and Kambouropoulos (2007, pp. 388).

Rapport (2005) describes lived experience as an individual’s immediate and pre-reflective consciousness, the reality of lived experiences that belong to any one individual in any given context. Klaich (1996) views lived experience as individuals’ daily behaviours, meanings, perceptions, accompanying thoughts and feelings originating from interaction with their environment. Furthermore, Rapport, (2005) suggests that lived experience is embedded within the context of the lived life of each particular individual and forms the narrative of that life, the lived experience of the law enforcement officer in coping and dealing with drink driving and its associated issues in Lagos/Nigeria is central to this study. (Hoffman, 1993) uses qualitative phenomenological research methodology to study South African police exposure to traumatic situations and scenes, which is an inevitable part of policing. Most police officers report relatively low levels of death anxiety

despite their dangerous profession (Hoffman, 1993). The human world of experience is worthy of examination and the Hoffman study contributed to new ways of understanding the way trauma is experienced in the South African Police Service.

Research methods

The study used a qualitative phenomenological research design to examine the targeted issues described above. In this regard, Stefanovic (2002) notes that, "From mindful observation of people in their natural settings to in-depth interviewing, from interior reflection to explication of narrative accounts or literary descriptions, the phenomenological approaches aim to 'lay bare' relations and patterns of perceiving the world that are frequently taken for granted" (Stefanovic, 2002, pp. 28). Jankowski and Jensen (1991, pp.1) report that, "There appears to be an emerging consensus that a great many central research issues cannot be adequately examined through the kinds of questions that are posed by hypothetical-deductive methods and addressed with quantifiable answers" .

The literature review

Gratton and Jones (2003) suggest that a review of the literature is an essential task in all types of research. A literature review is the background to the research, where it is important to demonstrate a clear understanding of the relevant theories and concepts, the report concluded.

The literature search was developed with the aim of accessing publications and information on driving under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria and on the roles of law enforcement officers in dealing with this phenomenon. It therefore focuses on the main aims and objectives of the research project. A structured and methodological approach was adopted in the literature search in order to achieve true representative views of any available literature on the topic. A thorough literature review was carried out, though serious gaps exist in this research field in Nigeria. These gaps are associated with lack of information, lack of legislation and lack of statistics on drink-driving accidents. There is a serious gap in research materials and lack of research papers on this topic, which sometimes hindered the researcher's progress in carrying out this project.

The literature review was conducted by using various publications and reviews from journals via online resource services for drinking and driving in Lagos/Nigeria. Multiple literature searches were conducted and various driving under the influence of alcohol databases were explored; examples include web search engines such as Google, the National Health Service Blood and Transplant (NHSBT) online library resource services, Medline, AllTheWeb.com, etc. This was done by looking for a specific word, e.g. drinking driving and road crashes in Nigeria, law on drink-driving in Nigeria, law enforcement in Nigeria, and alcohol use on BBC website. The researcher followed up references cited in published papers for more up to date information on driving under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria.

Additionally, the researcher also searched the federal government of Nigeria library on road traffic accident records and alcohol policy. The Lagos state

road traffic records, Nigerian police road accident records library, the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria and the Nigerian Highway Code were also searched. The researcher also searched the Nigeria newspaper Library and newspapers; for example the Punch online, the Guardian online, The Sun online, Vanguard news online and Nigerian world online news. The researcher specifically searched for road accident information, drink-driving, and alcohol issues from 1945 to the present day to ensure that all the relevant publications on the topic and specifically in English language journals only, were captured. An additional resource from the UK alcohol concern website was immensely helpful.

The quality of the material was generally not adequate because some of the papers were published in the 1960s and 1970s and are generally mini reviews; some are just a single page online publication. Few of the publications were reviews and some were very short publications. The majority of the publications were published by Nigerians in America in various disciplines in psychology, law and natural science. There were few mini-review papers published by Nigerians, mainly in the psychology departments from various Nigerian universities. The quality of these papers was not very good because they are mainly yes or no statistical short reviews mainly done outside Nigeria in the USA. There were some epidemiological/statistical publications by the world health organisation (WHO) and International Centres for Alcohol Policies (ICAP), which were good but very short, though these publications were very useful and informative. Some of the few statistical publications by the (ICAP and WHO) were very useful, they provided information on the extent of the problem and the severity of drinking and

driving problem in Lagos/Nigeria and the lack of academic research in the area.

Primary data collection

The study used focus groups and a series of face-to-face semi-structured interviews because this research approach “facilitates access to information-rich cases” (Martin, 2009, pp. 118). The interviews were semi-structured in order to provide some uniformity to the summary of the interviews while still providing the opportunity for the interviewer to probe further in response to interesting responses (Neuman, 2003). There are several social research methods available to the qualitative researcher, including the historical methodology, ethnographical studies, phenomenological alternatives, field-based case studies, grounded theory and action research (Burton & Steane, 2004). Many researchers use a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches, depending on their specific requirements (Neuman, 2003)

The research interview questions were first piloted with two Nigerians (general public) living in London, UK. After this piloting the research questions were fine turned and amended before the researcher travelled to Lagos/Nigeria for the field study. Numbers of different social groups of people and three different groups of law enforcement agencies were interviewed to get background information to the issue of drinking and driving also to get the law enforcement officers' backgrounds and their perceptions of driving under the influence of alcohol in the first phase of the study in Lagos. During the second

phase of the field study in Lagos, the law enforcement officers are the main focus.

Dennis and Harris (2002) emphasise the need to incorporate primary data from sources such as semi-structured interviews and focus-group discussions whenever possible: "Primary data are information that is being collected for the first time in order to address a specific research problem. This means that it is likely to be directly relevant to the research, unlike secondary data, which may be out of date or collected for a very different purpose, a research project should incorporate primary and secondary data" (Dennis and Harris (2001), pp. 39). In this regard, Klandermans and Staggenborg (2002) note that, "Semi-structured interviews and focus groups provide greater breadth and depth of information, the opportunity to discover the respondent's experience and interpretation of reality, and access to people's ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher" (Klandermans et al. 2002, pp. 93).

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are pre-scheduled, directed but flexible, major topic areas are controlled and there is a focused flow. It is the most commonly used method in qualitative research. The objective is to understand the participant's experience, their point of view, rather than to generalize about behaviours (Flick, 1998). "More and less open ended questions are brought to the interview situation in the form of an interview guide" (Flick, 1998 pp.94). From the beginning, the focus is on gaining an understanding based on

textual information obtained. The level of depth of understanding that the researcher pursues is used to characterize this type of interview (Flick, 1998, pp.94). Semi-structured interviews give the researcher not only the opportunity to explore the topic in greater depth, but also combine observation in order to get the maximum amount of feedback from the participants (Emory & Cooper, 1991). Personal interviewing is costly both in money and time, but its main advantage is securing a greater level of detail than any other method which far outweighs its limitations (Emory & Cooper, 1991). Interviewers can note the conditions of the interview and probe with additional questions (Emory & Copper, 1991).

This method is an effective way of collecting useful information from participants when the researcher wants to look into a topic and clarify participants' statements. It is a useful method to interview a shy participant when some of them may not like to speak openly in a group and also to ensure that the research questions are addressed adequately and correctly, as that may not be possible in group interviews like focus-group discussions. This interview method worked very well for this study; the researcher was able to probe deeper and uses a prod question to clarify answers to some of the questions; the participants were open and had no hesitation in answering any of the questions in this study, even a controversial one.

Focus group discussion

The focus group method is a form of group interview in which several participants in addition to the facilitator discuss a range of topics to access

knowledge and opinion about an issue (Wilkinson and Krueger, 1998). Usually people that have knowledge and experience about the topic within the group interact. This interaction is crucial to the group discussion. This method has been increasingly popular amongst researchers in the fields of business and marketing for many years (Wilkinson, 1998). Health and social science researchers are now increasingly using this method (Wilkinson, 1998). A group of individuals is selected and assembled by researcher to discuss and comment on personal experience on the topic that is the subject of the research (Powell & Single, 1996). A focus-group discussion, however, relies on interaction within the groups (Morgan, 1997, p12). Hence, the key characteristic that distinguishes focus-group discussions is the insight and data produced by the interaction between participants. This means that instead of asking each person to respond to a question in turn, people are encouraged to talk to one another, asking questions, exchanging anecdotes and commenting on each other's experiences and points of view (Merton and Kendall's, 1946). The method is particularly useful for exploring people's knowledge, experiences, beliefs and feelings, and can be used to examine not only what people think but also how they think and why they think that way (Merton and Kendall's, 1946). It is used to elicit a multiplicity of views and emotional processes within a group context. During the focus group discussion, each member of the law enforcement officer group was encouraged to comment and talk freely about the reason why people drink and drive in Lagos/Nigeria. Another benefit is that focus groups elicit information in a way that allows researchers to find out why an issue is salient, as well as what is salient about it (Morgan, 1988). As a result, the gap

between what people say and what they do can be better understood (Lankshear, 1993).

Focus group discussion was used in this study because it was believed that it would provide information about the participants' beliefs and perceptions of drink-driving in Lagos. It was intended to give greater access to their knowledge and experience of the social and economic effects of drink-driving to the individual family and the community at large. According to the proponents of focus groups, it has the advantage of eliciting people's own knowledge, experience and perception of drink-driving in Lagos. It is much easier to collect information about the problems associated with drink-driving in Lagos during a focus group discussion and it is much cheaper and more data and information are collected than during one-to-one interviews. One-to-one interviews are very expensive to organise and coordinate compared to focus group interviews, which is more cost-effective. It was much easier to get law enforcement officers together for focus group discussions than to get them to attend for one-to-one semi-structured interviews.

Focus group discussions were carried out with three different groups of law enforcement agencies (please see details in Table 5 page 86). During the focus-group discussion, some of the law-enforcement officers willingly offered some useful information that would never have been offered in a one-to-one interview. One of the police officers claimed that no police officer goes on a patrol without taking hard drugs or alcohol. When pressed why this is so, he commented that the terrain, conditions and type of environment in which they work precipitate the need to take one drug or another. The officer said that they were revealing this information because they were in the company of

their colleagues; they said that normally they would not volunteer such information but felt comfortable and safe among their co-officers. It is a powerful method to obtain information that would have been hidden forever about an important issue in Nigerian society.

Field observation visit

While conducting the research study in Lagos, the researcher conducted a number of observation field studies. The researcher travelled with law enforcement officers on road patrol, stop-and-search duty in Lagos metropolitan area for field observation. When the researcher asked the officers why alcohol assessments were not routinely carried out on some of the drivers, they said their duty at checkpoints does not include alcohol consumption verification. A detailed note was recorded during the researcher field observation visits and the note was later use to verify some of the point raised by the officers in a later interview sessions. The observational work helps the researcher to have a greater understanding of what people said in the semi-structured interviews and focus groups.

The semi-structured interview schedules

Semi-structured interview schedules were developed after the pilot interviews (in UK) were carried out as previously explained to elucidate the research questions. The schedules were iteratively refined before the final questions were adopted. The schedule set out to explore the relationship between drink-

driving and vehicle crashes in Lagos, how different social groups of people and three different groups of law enforcement officers perceive drink-driving, and what are their perceptions of the social, cultural and economic factors which influence driving under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria. This schedule was adapted depending on the groups of law enforcement officer`s interviewees, e.g. the police officers were asked about their role in responding to drink-driving. The interview schedules were adjusted appropriately according to the interviewees. The interview schedules are attached in **APPENDIX G & H, Page 225 – 229.**

The focus group discussion schedules

Lists of essential topic areas were identified and questions were drawn up to most effectively elicit responses to the research questions, with particular reference to law enforcement officers. It took several attempts with the agreement of my director of studies to arrive at the appropriate questions for the focus group. During the focus group discussions, the researcher expected a frank discussion among the participants to raise issues for subsequent exploration in other semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. These schedules were developed for the three different groups of law enforcement agencies and adapted depending on the groups of officers, e.g. the police officers, VIO and LASTMA were asked about their role in responding to drink-driving. The schedules were adapted to suit each group of the law-enforcement officers; there was some overlap to aid comparison of the different enforcement agencies. The focus group questions are attached

in **APPENDIX H**. The main aims of the law-enforcement officers' focus group are to be able to triangulate findings from focus group discussion findings with those of the semi-structured interview findings.

Research procedures, sampling strategy

The researcher quickly realised that sampling would have to be purposive in order to recruit participants from a wide spectrum of society across Lagos state, including people with background knowledge and experience of dealing with drink-driving issues. Health worker professionals, three different groups of law-enforcement agencies, commercial drivers, and members of the public were recruited to take part in the background research study, phase one. The second phase of the research study was focused exclusively on the law enforcement officers as they were the main focus of the research study, as stated earlier. As a native to Lagos, the researcher used his local knowledge and experience of Lagos state to meet members of the public and this made it much easier to recruit participants through placement of advertisements in community centres, police stations and health centres across the state.

The background interviews with the members of the public and the law enforcement officers was intended as a pilot to give a broad overview of people from different social groups' thoughts and perceptions about drink-driving in Lagos/Nigeria. Then, in the second phase the research further clarified some of the issues that emerged from the first phase of the field work and then concentrated on the experiences and perceptions of the three different groups of law-enforcement officers as described earlier in the chapter

to elucidate the research questions and focus. It is important to collate and triangulate the views and experiences of the various participants in the field study to answer the research questions and objectives.

The health worker professionals were included in this study initially because they regularly deal with victims of road traffic accidents. They are professionals with knowledge, experience, views and feelings related to drink-driving in Lagos; their contribution cannot be ignored. It is crucial to share their views in this study. The commercial drivers were included in the background research because of their experience and knowledge of road crashes. These groups are more affected by the impact of drink driving than any other groups; their ideas, suggestions and experience will be useful to the study.

It was important to include members of the public in this study; their views and feelings on driving under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria will be valuable to this research, their contributions will help to elicit some of the important research questions and why Lagosians/Nigerians drive while under the influence of alcohol. The law-enforcement officers were the main focus of the study because they are the custodians of law and order; they regularly deal with the victims of road traffic accidents. As law-enforcement officers, they are people with knowledge, experience, views and feelings relating to drink-driving accidents and law- enforcement in Lagos/Nigeria which they may wish to share with the researcher. My second research question relates to how these officers perceived their roles in dealing with driving under the influence of alcohol and this is an important aspect of the study.

The researcher decided to have six different focus-group discussions with the different groups of law-enforcement officers in the first phase of the field study (please see table 5, page 86) because this gave the researcher the opportunity to probe the officers comments and get them to talk freely. The focus group discussion shaped the questions and the direction for the semi-structure interview. It was much easier to interview the officers as a group rather than as individuals. In Lagos; law-enforcement officers are more comfortable when they are together; they preferred to be interviewed together as a group. Experience shows that law-enforcement officers are not generally used to being interviewed for research studies; some of them find it extremely difficult to grant one-to-one interviews but are much comfortable when in a group. This could also be due to insecurity and mistrust between police officers and members of the public.

Selection and access to participants

Phase one

Access to commercial drivers was facilitated through the commercial drivers' trade union. A poster advert was placed in the drivers' union's weekly newsletter for any interested person who would like to take part in the study to contact the researcher. Access to members of the public was facilitated by placing a poster advert in community halls for any interested person who would like to be interviewed for the study to contact the researcher. Access to health worker professionals was facilitated through professional contact and a poster advertisement in the hospital notice board. The health workers semi-

structured interviews were conducted in a private clinic as described in the finding chapters. Members of the public and the commercial drivers' semi-structured interviews were conducted in community halls: details are described in the finding chapters.

Phase two main study

Access to the law enforcement officers was facilitated through professional contact and a poster advertisement on the police officers' notice board for any interested person who would like to take part in the study to contact the researcher.

Data collection – semi-structured interviews

Just before commencing the interview, the researcher switched on the digital tape recorder and completed a brief biographical questionnaire by asking the participants about their education, age, employment, if they consume alcohol, their health information and access to a vehicle. The researcher thought this was a good way of getting the participant use to the research environment and this led into the main interview questions.

For phase one, the interview began with direct questions about the role of alcohol in Lagos and on what type of occasions people drink alcohol. The researcher was able to cover most issues on drink driving and the perceptions of Lagosians, and picked up more clues from participants; there was a free flow of information's from the participants.

Most of the participants were curious as to why the researcher would come from England to conduct a research in Lagos without a sponsorship grant from the authority. They felt that an important project of this nature, a topic that touches almost every family in Nigeria should have a huge government input. As the interview progressed, the participants were more open and freely expressed their feelings. The researcher felt that the participants were honest about what they told him and the participants had no concerns about the researcher recording the interview.

Table 4: Number of semi-structured interviews undertaken

Data Collection Method	Number of Interviews	The Participants
One-to-one interviews		
Phase one	2, all male	Health workers professionals
Phase one	[8], 7 male, 1 female	Members of the public
Phase one	2, all male	Commercial drivers
Phase two	10, all male	Police officers
Phase two	9, all male	LASTMA officers
Phase two	9, all male	VIO officers
Total Number of Interviews	40	

Data collection – focus group discussions

The focus group discussions were conducted in accommodation provided by the Nigerian police force and none of the officers that participated in the focus group discussion were interviewed for the semi-structured interviews because

it is important to involve as many officers in the research study. The focus group consisted of law-enforcement officers from three different agencies. Rules were established before the commencement of the discussion, confidentiality was paramount among the members, listening and showing respect to each other was important. The research was introduced to the participants, the researcher pointed out that it was important that one person spoke at a time but also important for members to discuss about the issue at hand. The researcher emphasised that the purpose of this group discussion was to draw upon their experience and knowledge on driving under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria. The discussion took about two hours in each of the focus group discussions, refreshments were provided and the discussion was digitally tape-recorded and field notes were taken during the meeting. The researcher started with an opening question about how the different groups of officers perceive drink-driving and what their perceptions were of the social, cultural and economic factors which influence drink-driving in Lagos/Nigeria with particular reference to law enforcement. Group dynamics in the group discussion was part of the data collection and were very good.

Table 5: Number of Focus Groups discussion undertaken

Data Collection Method	Number of Focus Groups	The Participants
Focus groups	2, all male	Police force (6 police officers)
	2, all male	Vehicle inspection officers (5 VIO officers)
	2, all male	Lagos state traffic management authority (5 LASTMA officers)
Total Number of Focus Groups	6	

A total of 32 law-enforcement officers took part in the focus-group discussion and each session lasted for 2 hours. They were all male age between 23 and 56 years old. They were 6 Regular police officers (RPO), 5 Vehicle Inspections Officers (VIO) and 5 Lagos State Traffic Management Authority Officer (LASTMA).

The focus-group discussion (FG) was conducted in the native language (Yoruba), broken English and in English language. All the translation from Yoruba to English and broken English to English language was done by the researcher, the researcher is fluent in Yoruba, one of the main language in Nigerian.

I have tried to prevent some of the problems involved in describing field study data by digitally recording and transcribing the data verbatim. The data was personally transcribed with the aid of the Olympus transcription module which enables me to be embedded in the discussion. Also by preparing it for analysis, I have had the opportunity to listen to each recorded interview many times, over and over.

Reflections on data collection

Few ideas are derived from the limited available literature on drink-driving and law enforcement in Nigeria; accurate secondary data and accident statistics are very difficult to find, consequently research materials in this field were very limited with very few available.

The researcher's background as a health professional and frequent visits to Lagos/Nigeria over the years have given the researcher an understanding of the problems associated with drink-driving and road traffic accidents in Lagos/Nigeria.

The researcher had experience as a health professional worker in the National Health Services Blood and Transplant (NHSBT) UK, and he is familiar with drink-driving episodes in the UK and Nigeria. The reviews of relevant journals on alcohol and associated problems contributed to the researcher's expectations at the commencement of the research. The researcher has worked as a clinical scientist in a blood bank in a capacity that exposed him to the effects, dangers and outcomes of driving under the influence of alcohol.

According to Oiler (1986), the phenomenological method requires that any assumptions or expectations of the researchers' lived experience should be made known, "bracketed" and set aside as previously mentioned. In other words, the researcher is revealing conscious biases and allows the reader to recognise these, thus allowing the informants' responses to determine significant issues, questions, and themes of the research. In the case of this research, the following expectations and assumptions were recognised and bracketed:

- (1) That the researcher have worked as a clinical scientist in a blood bank for several years and was exposed to the effects, dangers and outcomes of drinking and driving
- (2) That the researcher will be honest and open-minded about the research, its aims, methods and objectives with all informants and there will be no attempt to conceal the research focus on drink-driving in Lagos/Nigeria.

This second point is very important from the researcher`s perspective not only because the researcher held values about honesty in research but it is also a demand of the phenomenological research approach employed for this research.

Data analysis

Miles & Huberman (1984, p.15) described qualitative data analysis as three linked processes that reflect the anticipatory, interim and iterative character of qualitative research. Words describe and explain. Words suggest new perspectives. Conclusions expressed as words seem more convincing than pages of numbers. However, words are also ambiguous and difficult to compare objectively. It is never clear how much of a verbal description of one instance carries over to other instances (Miles, & Huberman, 1984). The aim of data analysis is to provide structure and to organize in a manner to elicit meaning from the data (Polit and Beck, 2006).

The data were analysed and transcribed verbatim, the transcribed data were reviewed and each question analysed so that conclusions could be drawn. The findings from the focus-group discussion were analysed and triangulated with the information gathered from the semi-structured interviews.

Given the information gathered from the first phase of fieldwork, it was necessary to further clarify some of the issues raised by the law-enforcement officers. It was then decided to concentrate on three different groups of law-enforcement officers to clarify some of these issues. These clarification interviews were carried out with the three different groups of law-enforcement officers in the second phase of the fieldwork in Lagos/Nigeria.

Transcription

Both semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were recorded with a Philips LFH0662 digital voice tracer and transcribed verbatim soon after the interviews were conducted. They were transcribed with the aid of an OLYMPUS AS-2400 Transcription kit. The quality of the recording was exceptionally good. All the focus groups and semi-structured interviews were on record; there were no background noises due to the quality of the digital voice tracer.

The researcher's observational notes at the motor terminus (park), bars and during the focus group were helpful and detailed. Some of the researcher's field notes during the face-to-face interviews were brief but very accurate, since the researcher was able to transcribe by himself soon after the interview

when infrastructure (power outage) allowed. The researcher was able to recollect body language, inconsistencies, group dynamics and interactions.

The transcription was painstaking and time-consuming but embedded the researcher in the research. The use of the Olympus AS-2400 transcription kit machine means the researcher was able to go back and forward, over and over conversations with ease. The researcher speed of typing meant that he often went over and over material several times. The researcher was able to listen very closely to the material, hesitations, and often could hear different themes emerging each time.

Analysis of transcripts

Data analysis of the semi-structured interviews and focus-group discussions from the first phase of the interviews was undertaken using the principles suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984). They describe the choices made by the researcher as a form of anticipatory data reduction, which gives focus and ways to follow the research from which the explanatory stage of analysis emerges later in the process. The research question is underpinned by a combination of the available evidence and the need to address its limitations.

The researcher's understanding of the study on drink-driving in Lagos/Nigeria gave him some idea about the concepts, questions and tensions, which the data may reveal. The researcher was conscious that the law-enforcement officers' experience of drink-driving would have been different from that of members of the public and that of a health professional worker would have

been different from that of the commercial drivers. However, the researcher anticipated common experiences, which would expose why Lagosians/Nigerians drive while under the influence of alcohol.

There was a level of consistency between the emerging themes from the focus group discussion and the semi-structured interviews. The researcher was obliged to explore all issues in more detail but focus on themes that were more common. The data were examined and repeatedly re-examined for any emerging concepts for similarity and relationships by the incorporation of open and selective coding.

Coding

The aim of coding is to identify recurrent ideas and themes from the transcripts. This stage began with line-by-line *in vivo* coding of participants' own words. This line-by-line open coding assisted the researcher in identifying substantive selective codes as they emerged from the data, focussing on patterns as it emerged from the participants. Often on re-reading the transcripts, the researcher was able to code the same information in many ways.

The data was analysed by using QRS NVIVO 8 data analysis software. The data was imported into the NVIVO 8 software and then combed for themes, ideas and categories. Similar passages of data were marked with a code so that they could be retrieved later when needed for further analysis and

comparison. Coding the data made it easier to search for more data and themes and to identify any patterns that needed further investigation.

Data analysis consists of three parts: noticing, collecting and thinking about interesting things. This is generally a non-linear process and can often be recursive. As one continues to collect information, one may notice new things and need to think about them. As a result, one sometimes has to go back to old data and analyse them again, which happened frequently with the researcher in analysing the data (Qualitative data analysis, John V. Offredy. M, 2010). [Online]

After coding all the focus groups and the one-to-one semi-structured interviews, the researcher had too many codes and had to go over and over the transcript. Once the core category was identified; the data was selectively coded for core categories to make it meaningful: the selecting coding. This is the process of selecting the core (or main) category, and then systematically relating it to the other categories. At the same time, this involves the validation of these relationships, and then filling in any categories that perhaps require further refining and developing.

During this process of selective coding, the categories and their interrelationships were combined to form a story that describes what happens in the phenomenon under study.

Ethical considerations

The studies were approved by Middlesex University UK Social Science Academic Group Ethics Sub-committee:

Participants were given an information sheet (please see Appendix page 179 - 195 for full details) detailing full contents of the research and informed consent form to sign. All participants were advised of their right to withdraw from the study at any time if they wished to do so. They were all informed that all information given would be kept in the strictest confidence and their identity would not be divulged to any third party; all information given during the course of the research would be seen by the researcher only. Permission was obtained to record the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions at the start of each interview and the researcher personally transcribed the recordings. Recordings, field notes, and transcript data were kept or seen by the researchers only. Letter and numbers only identified individual participants.

Participants were fully informed that the research findings may be published as part of the researcher's doctoral research and may be published in a professional journal, presented at conferences or published in books. The participants were informed that this research would not necessarily benefit them but may help others in the future. It was not difficult to recruit participants for the study, participants came forward voluntarily.

The researcher is aware of how sensitive the issue of drink-driving is; if a police officer or driver divulges sensitive information about accident or

operational issues, the researcher would encourage them to report it to the appropriate authority as the researcher would normally do in the UK.

Risk assessment

There is a small risk of violence associated with working in a big city like Lagos and this is potentially increased when researching law enforcement officers and also informants, who may be intoxicated. As a native of Lagos, the researcher is aware of places to avoid, how to protect himself in general and never be alone with an informant. All interviews were undertaken in public places and in close contact by mobile phone with the researcher driver. The researcher had the service of an experienced local driver with local knowledge, a safe car and full comprehensive motor insurance. The driver was always with the researcher throughout the duration of the fieldwork in Lagos. Extremely hot weather and risk of dehydration and sunburn are potential hazards, which as a native, the researcher is used to managing. The researcher avoided the hottest time of the day where at all possible, appropriate clothing and headgear were in place and bottled water was carried at all times. There is always a risk of robbery and physical aggression but probably no more than those encountered in any big city like Lagos.

There were many constraints mitigating conducting smooth field study in Lagos/Nigeria, e.g. nationwide general strikes by the Nigeria trade union and constant power outages, which sometimes affected interview sessions and quick transcription of the data after interview

Conclusion and reflections on the chapter

This chapter has explored the main methodological propositions that have influenced this project. Drawing on methodological ideas presented, this chapter has explored how and why the particular methodology and methods were used to conduct the research. The next logical step is to present the findings of the study through coding by themes.

Chapter four: Profiles of Research Participants and Their Attitudes towards Alcohol and Drink Driving in Nigeria

Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief introduction and profile of all the participants and then presents the study findings about attitudes towards alcohol and drink-driving. It describes participants' accounts of their perceptions of the reasons why people drive under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria and in particular examines the views of the three different groups of law enforcement officers regarding their roles and the factors which influenced the performance of their duties.

Eight members of the public were interviewed (Res.A1 to A8), one was a skilled general electrician; one was an auto-mechanic who also worked as a recovery driver. Two were professionals with university degrees, one worked as a company manager. The only female participant worked as a company secretary with access to a car; the remaining four participants were in the unskilled socio-economic group with a secondary education and gainfully employed. Two commercial drivers (Res.CD1 & 2) were interviewed separately. CD1 had a primary education while CD2 had no education at all. Two medical practitioners (Res.MD1 & 2), specialists in trauma medicine, were interviewed separately. Thirty two law-enforcement officers (LEO), (A to O) took part in the focus group discussions; their education ranged from primary education to polytechnic diploma, please see table 6, page 97 to 99.

A total number of twenty-eight law enforcement officers took part in the semi-structured interviews: nine Vehicle Inspection officers (VIO), (V1 to V9), nine

Lagos State Traffic Management Authority officers (LSTMA), (L1 to L9). And ten Nigerian Police Officer (NPF), (P1 to P10), all were in the first phase of the research.

All the participants were all male; it was impossible to recruit Nigerian female law enforcement officers to take part in the study. The researcher was told by all the female officers invited to take part in the study to write a letter asking for authorization from their husband and family to ask for their permission before they could take part in the study. This is not surprising as Nigeria is a very strong religious and cultural country with tradition very much embedded in everyday lives in the society. Among all the law enforcement officers, the LASTMA are more educated than the rest of the groups. The majority of LASTMA officers are first degree holders while the Nigerian police officers are the least educated among the groups. Please refer to table 6 below for full demographic characteristic profiles of the law enforcement officers. A total number of seventy-two participants took part in the study, fifty-six were married; sixteen were single, seventy-one male and only one female.

Sixty-six of the participants had access to motor vehicles while six regularly commuted using public commercial transport.

Table of Demographic Characteristics profile of the Officers

Table 6

Type of Officer	Age	Gender	Education	Married	Rank in the force	Years in Service	Tribe	Religion	Car Owner	Home Owner
VIO	23	male	HND ¹	Yes	Technical officer	2	Yoruba	Christian	No	No
VIO	26	male	HND	Yes	Technical officer	4	Yoruba	Christian	No	No

VIO	40	male	HND	Yes	Technical officer	5	Yoruba	Christian	Yes	Yes
VIO	34	male	HND	Yes	Commander	5	Yoruba	Christian	Yes	Yes
VIO	50	male	GCSE	Yes	Commander	7	Yoruba	Christian	No	No
VIO	46	male	HND	Yes	Commander	8	Yoruba	Christian	No	No
VIO	28	male	HND	No	Commander	7	Yoruba	Muslim	Yes	Yes
VIO	29	male	HND	Yes	Commander	8	Yoruba	Muslim	Yes	Yes
VIO	24	male	GCSE ²	No	Commander	8	Yoruba	No Religion	Yes	Yes
LASTMA	21	male	OND ³	No	Traffic officer	2.5	Yoruba	Christian	Yes	Yes
LASTMA	26	male	BSc ⁴	Yes	Traffic officer	4	Yoruba	Christian	Yes	Yes
LASTMA	26	male	BSc	Yes	Traffic officer	6	Yoruba	Christian	Yes	Yes
LASTMA	29	male	BSc	Yes	Inspector	8	Yoruba	Christian	Yes	Yes
LASTMA	40	male	OND	Yes	Inspector	8	Yoruba	Christian	Yes	Yes
LASTMA	27	male	BSc	Yes	Inspector	9	Ibo	Muslim	Yes	Yes
LASTMA	37	male	BSc	Yes	Inspector	10	Ibo	Muslim	Yes	Yes
LASTMA	28	male	OND	Yes	Inspector	10	Ibo	Muslim	No	No
LASTMA	25	male	BSc	Yes	Inspector	12	Ibo	Muslim	No	No
NPF	23	male	BSc	Yes	Corporal	5	Yoruba	Christian	Yes	Yes
NPF	24	male	GCSE	Yes	Corporal	5	Yoruba	Christian	No	No
NPF	26	male	HND	No	Corporal	10	Yoruba	Christian	No	No
NPF	29	male	GCSE	Yes	Assistant Inspector	15	Ibo	Christian	Yes	Yes
NPF	30	male	BSc	No	Inspector	17	Ibo	Christian	Yes	Yes
NPF	35	male	HND	No	DPO ⁵	18	Hausa	Christian	No	No
NPF	38	male	HND	Yes	DPO	19	Hausa	Muslim	Yes	Yes

NPF	50	male	GCSE	Yes	Inspector	22	Calabar	Muslim	Yes	Yes
NPF	52	male	GCSE	Yes	AIG ⁶	28	Urhobo	Muslim	Yes	Yes
NPF	55	male	OND	Yes	AIG	28	Tiff	Muslim	Yes	Yes

Emerging themes from perceptions of the reasons why people drink and drive in Lagos/Nigeria.

Some of the perceived reasons and explanations for alcohol consumption are shown in the three main categories next page. The research participants share the view that alcohol consumption is taken as a cultural norm and recreational activity, they view alcohol as an ordinary product associated with culture and celebration. Lagosians/Nigerian like to get together to share their feelings when drinking alcohol. They see alcohol consumption as a way of coming together to talk about issues affecting them and their families, the general feeling among the participant about alcohol is that is a product that bring people together. It is a part of Lagosians tradition and cultural heritage to consume alcohol as part of the daily diet for its medicinal properties as a prophylactic. Lagosians/Nigerian cherish their tradition and custom, and part of the custom is to drink alcohol soaked in traditional herbs and roots; consuming these roots while driving poses a great danger to their own lives and that of the general public.

In examining the perceived reasons for drink driving in Lagos/Nigeria, three main categories emerged from the data, these were:

¹HND – Higher National Diploma, ²GCSE – General Certificate of Secondary Education, ³OND – Ordinary National Diploma, ⁴BSC – Bachelor of Science, ⁵DPO – Divisional Police Officer, ⁶AIG – Assistant Inspector General.

- The influence of tradition and culture
- The availability of alcohol
- The perceived beneficial effects of alcohol

RESPONDENT A1- A8, Res A1 – 8

Res.A1 knowing Lagosians, they like to enjoy themselves, they like to get together, they like to have something they can look at as something they can share, and it is a social sharing factor in the Lagosians life.

The influence of tradition and culture

The majority of the law enforcement officers that participated in the focus group discussion reported that alcohol is socially acceptable and served during cultural and social occasions. Traditionally, alcohol is served during important events such as the birth of a child, marriages, getting a new job, job promotion, resolving of conflicts, burial ceremonies and so on. However, this is not an excuse to disobey the law on drink-driving. The officers reported that most Nigerians deliberately break the law in the name of cultural heritage. The officers were not happy with the way Nigerians mix culture with law and order. The officers stated that tradition is different from keeping law and order. It is important to maintain a civilized, safe and orderly society and never to endanger the lives of innocent citizens on the grounds of cultural heritage and tradition.

Disagreement between the officers on how consumption of alcohol and driving under the influence of alcohol should be controlled and enforced.

FGD. (RPO) C...culture does not have anything to do with law and order, we have to enforce the law not tradition and the law has nothing to do with culture...

The officers concluded that cultural heritage could be adhered to without breaking the law and endangering public lives and properties. These groups of officers suggested that if any citizen wants to consume alcohol, they should do so but must not engage in driving whilst under the influence of alcohol. However, the three different groups of law enforcement agencies had different views on this issue. Regular police officers were against the consumption of alcohol while driving. There is a disagreement between the law enforcement agencies on what should be done and how alcohol consumption and drink-driving should be controlled and enforced. The vehicle inspection officers (VIO) strongly supported Nigeria's tradition and cultural heritage, which allows the consumption of alcohol at any time of the day.

FGD. (RPO) E...Culture has nothing to do with it, so because of culture I will drink Ogogoro early in the morning before starting my daily work. The law is useless because of politicians and not due to our culture...

The officers' views reflect (Gureje's, 1999) statement below. The officers believe that culture should be allowed to play its part in society, but the law on drink-driving is sacrosanct. Culturally, consumption of large quantities of alcohol, as long as it is not associated with behavioural evidence of intoxication, is culturally seen as desirable Gureje's (1999).

FGD. (RPO) C... /....in the UK, they respect law not culture. Culture has nothing to do with it. The problem is the law, the law should be strengthened and heavy penalties should be introduced to control drink driving.../...

The role of tradition and culture on consumption of alcohol

The officers said that traditional and cultural beliefs started from their great grand-parents; before their forefathers went to the farm in the morning, they usually consumed alcohol and believed that it help them to work harder and stay longer on the farm. This tradition has passed on from generation to generation till today, *"this belief is still very much alive in Nigerian society today"*, as claimed by all the participants. The officers reported that these days, you see the young generations consuming alcohol before setting off for their work and believe that it will help them to perform better in their jobs. This behaviour does not exclude the educated elites; city office workers and commercial drivers all practice this activity.

Res. V9, ...Lagosians/Nigerians believe that if they don't drink, they could not do any tangible work, even our forefathers believed that before they went to the farm in the morning they had to drink alcohol to make them work harder on the farm. ...these notions still remain till tomorrow in the society...

The law enforcement officers mentioned that in Lagos, if you don't drink alcohol, you will be regarded as an outsider, a saint, a "JJC" "(Johnny just come)" or even they will call you a "POPE". The officers said that Lagosians don't take to such remarks kindly, so it is common to drink in order to belong to the group. The officers believe that social factors also contribute to the inordinate consumption of alcohol. People want to prove to their friends and family that they are rich, consequently there are elaborate endless celebrations with large quantities of free alcohol for all during social gathering.

Majority of the participants reported that alcohol is traditionally and culturally celebrated in Lagos/Nigeria; the participants commented that it is a celebration product, consumed in large quantities at parties, in the home, restaurants and beer parlours. Traditionally, when people move into a new house, alcohol is consumed in large quantities to cleanse the house. Visitors are welcome with bottle of alcohol and prayers are usually said for good fortune, peace and prosperity before drinking from the alcohol. It is well recognised that if you organise a party without alcohol in large quantities, your party will flop. It is believed to be a product that is always available during any type of celebration; whether joyful or sorrowful occasions, alcohol will always

be available in large quantities; it is believed to be a universal product for celebration in Nigerian society.

Res.MD2...No social event is complete without alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria, for those who don't drink and want to have a party, their friends will tell you that if you don't provide alcohol they will bring their own.../...in fact they are ready to sponsor it and come with lots and lots of alcohol.../...In a situation where no alcohol is provided you will be lucky to have more than a few people attending your party...

In Lagos/Nigeria, traditionally alcohol consumption is believed to be a men's activity. It is not surprising to find most drinking clubs to be exclusively male. A visit to a beer parlour in Lagos will show alcohol consumption as part of an exclusive male club where they drink Guider, big Guinness (Odeku). Nigerian men drink big Guinness as a sign of being strong, rich and successful in the community. Most of the participants believe that drinking among men is associated with high-salaried jobs, successful business persons and being well-to-do in society. The advertising of alcohol also stresses maleness and a successful person in the community.

Res.A6...It is not our custom for women to go to a party or alcohol bar to drink alcohol; it is disrespecting her husband and family. They give their husband

respect; the men drink alcohol while the women drink soft drinks like coke, juice and 7up.

Res.A5...When a woman drinks alcohol in front of her husband, it does not command any respect from the husband and the family. It is forbidden in Lagos for a married woman to drink alcohol at a party while the husband and family are all present; you will never see a woman drinking at a beer parlour in Lagos...a woman drinking alcohol in an alcohol bar is like a prostitute....

The majority of the participants including law enforcement officers reported that evil spirits and witchcraft on the road is a major factor for the road traffic accidents that characterise Lagos/Nigerians roads.

Culturally, Lagosians/Nigerians believe in the power of witchcraft and voodoo evil spirits. It is very common to see passengers having a group prayer for safe arrival to their various destinations inside commercial bus at the motor terminus (parks) and at a private owner's car before the vehicle leave for their journey. The officers reported that some of the evil spirits even pretended to be a genuine passenger and boarded commercial vehicles simply to cause an accident on the road.

Majority of the officers commented that evil spirits and witchcraft instigated drivers to drink alcohol. The officers said that if people prayed to God before they left home for their various journeys, accidents would be averted.

Generally, Nigerians believe in the activities of witchcraft, evil spirits are seen as a major problem on Nigerian roads, all the participants share this view.

Lagosians/Nigerians will go to all lengths to protect themselves and their families from the evils of witchcraft and voodoo doctors. Most Lagosians/Nigerians spend long hours in churches performing one ritual or another for protection. These beliefs are widespread in the society and are an area without class boundaries. It is practiced by all citizens. The officers said that this is where the very rich people and powerful politicians mingled with the very poor people in society.

Res. V7 ...we have bad evil spirits and bloodthirsty witchcraft that are always on the road, I believe that we all should pray before we set out every day.If you move close to God, you will understand what I am talking about, lots of evil spirits on Nigerian roads...

The majority of Lagosians/Nigerians believe that their success and failure is outside their control and witchcraft and evil spirits have power over them – an external locus of control. According to Rotter.J (1966), locus of control is when a person's beliefs about how much power one has over the events in one's life. The majority of Lagosians/Nigerians believe that the willingness to consume alcohol and other misfortunes that affect them and their family are outside their power, but are under the control of evil spirits and witchcraft forces. This is "Locus of control". It describes the degree to which individuals

perceive that outcomes result from their own behaviours, or from forces that are external to themselves, according to Rotter.J (1966). This produces a continuum with external control at one end and internal control at the other. Rotter reported that people who develop an internal locus of control believe that they are responsible for their own success and failure while those with external locus of control believe that external forces like fate and luck determine their outcomes. The majority of the people including law enforcement officers interviewed for the study seemed to feel that they were subject to power and forces beyond their control. Generally, the majority of the participants condemned the use of alcohol whilst in control of an automobile vehicle.

The availability of alcohol

All the social different groups of people and majority of the law enforcement officers' that took part in the field study perceived that alcohol is too easily available everywhere in Lagos/Nigeria. Urbanisation has a major role to play in alcohol availability. One of the participants, a medical practitioner, commented that in the past, alcohol was available for consumption only once a week and on a limited basis, but nowadays it is available everywhere, every street corner, every bus stop and motor terminus. They are hawked everyday of the week even on Sunday, which is regarded as a religious holy day in Lagos/Nigeria. It is very cheap, advertised on TV, radio, billboards and newspapers, and the availability needs to be strictly restricted.

Res.MD2. When we were young, we used to see off/on licenses in alcohol outlet shops but with the advent of SAP (Government Structural Adjustment Programmes) of the 1980s, austerity measures and the rest of them, all those words disappeared completely. Now; anybody can open up a beer parlour, in fact it is the quickest way of making money in Lagos. People will open a car-wash and beer parlour and an alcohol joint behind it. If you open a petrol station, there is an alcohol joint behind it. Almost any business, once it is attached to an alcohol joint or coupled with alcohol will make huge sales. In Lagos/Nigeria, alcohol is called happiness inducer; I think it should be called sadness inducer.

All the participants believe that the harsh economic situation in the country helps to fuel excessive alcohol consumption to the detriment of the citizens' safety and that of the public. Nearly all the participants reported that it is difficult to survive in Lagos due to the harsh economic situation, with a large number of young, able men and women unemployed. It is not difficult to find alcohol peddler/hawkers in every nook and cranny of Lagos state. This large army of alcohol peddlers and hawkers help to fuel the ever-increasing drink-driving culture in the society. The participants said that due to the unemployment situation in the country, large numbers of the citizens are engaged in alcohol trading. It is the cheapest and easiest way to employment. All you need to do is to buy a few bottles of locally brewed gin, Ogogoro, and you are in business.

Res.MD1. Due to the level of poverty and the economic situation in the country, if you have no job and no food to eat, the only way of earning a living is to buy a few bottles of spirit and start selling. Before you know it, you have drivers, conductors, area boys (unemployed thugs) and young men coming to you to drink and you are making a good living...

All the officers commented that one of the reasons for excessive consumption of alcohol and driving under the influence of alcohol is the easy availability of alcohol in close proximity to major motor terminuses (parks). Low price was another reason alcohol was easily available but opinions differed regarding whether a price increase would be a useful policy option. This will be discussed further in the concluding chapter.

Res. V4.....at the road block, it is not difficult to find alcohol seller, even selling alcohol to the police officers themselves, the government must find a way to restrict the easy availability and where alcohol could be sold.....

Majority of the participants also criticised a system where alcohol hawkers are allowed to chase vehicle on the highway rest area and petrol station with the aim of selling alcohol and snacks to the passengers and the drivers as shown in the figure 5 next page.



Figure 5. Street sellers/Hawkers selling alcohol and snacks to passengers and drivers at a highway petrol station

Res. V2.it is very common to see alcohol peddlers/hawkers chasing commercial vehicles to sell their products to the passengers when they stop at the filling station. The driver is never excluded from buying too, and alcohol is easily available in the country....

The majority of the officers reported that anybody could purchase alcohol at any time from any shops, even at filling stations. This is largely due to the ambiguity of the law perpetrated by official corruption; alcohol is sold without a valid operating licence. The officers said that it is not unusual to find people having breakfast with a bottle of Guilder beer as early as 7am in Lagos; food restaurants at the motor terminus (parks) are not excluded from this unsocial behaviour.

Res. V5....most of the commercial drivers are not educated, they are illiterate, and very poor, even at the motor parks and bus stops you see them buying all these alcoholic drinks. They believe that when they take it as early as 7.00 am and are driving it will help them to drive faster, work better and make more money.... alcohol is too easily available to the public...

The perceived beneficial effects of alcohol

All the social groups of people and majority of the law enforcement officers that took part in the study believed that alcohol helps them to work better, it gives them confidence and makes them invincible. They believe it helps them to deal with obstacles on the road. They reported that whenever they feel reluctant to go to work, they consume alcohol to help them through the day. One of the commercial drivers claimed that sometimes if he is feeling sleepy while driving on the highway, he drinks alcohol to help keep him awake and improve his concentration. One of the participants reported that he always keeps bottles of alcohol in his vehicle to consume when driving on a long journey.

Res. CD1 Ogogoro is an early morning drink to keep you going for your day's job, it helps you to perform.../....some people drink a little while driving to help them to concentrate; they will not drink over their capacity. In the morning before starting on a long journey, I usually drink alcohol to keep my

head down, it helps me to concentrate on the road, early morning drinking is good for me...

Res A3... My brother and six of his friends were coming from a party very drunk one weekend, one of them had not been drinking at the party he offered to drive them home; on their way they ran into a big pothole on the road and the car somersaulted, luckily no serious injury. They blamed the driver, that had he been drinking, he would have been a better driver and avoided the pothole, alcohol shine your eyes and help you to see clearly on the road and gives you confidence...//.. it makes you a better driver.....

The majority of the participants reported that alcohol is given to women during pregnancy to help relieve the pain and stress of pregnancy and also given to them after given birth. They believe it helps cleanse their system and also helps their body to heal quicker from the stress of giving birth. The majority of the participants said that it is very common to soak roots and herbs in alcohol (Ogogoro) for pregnant women to drink very early in the morning before taking any food during pregnancy. This practice is to help the child to grow properly while still in gestation and to aid safe delivery of the child, they claimed. The majority of the participants believe that this is widely practised in Lagos/Nigeria even among the well-off middle class in society.

Res.A2. yea, women who have just had a baby often have Guinness beer or Ogogoro as it is believed to be very rich in iron to replenish the loss of iron during childbirth...

Lagosians regarded alcohol as medicinal and it is a universal solvent for dissolving plant roots, mixed leaves and herbs. The majority of the participants agreed that alcohol is used to soak medicinal herbs for dysentery, malaria, fever, backache, etc.

The participants' accounts give a clear understanding of the poor state of the Lagos/Nigerian health system and the citizens' over-reliance on herbs and roots soaked in alcoholic beverages due to lack of a functional health care system for the citizens.

Res A4....In Lagos/Nigeria we don't have the type of western medicine you have in England, we depend on grinding and soaking herbs and roots in alcohol. When your wife, your child is ill, you give them this medicine and it makes them well...

Res. A7...In my home town where I came from they normally soaked a dead snake into alcohol and drink it to treat high blood pressure, it works very well, and it cures high blood pressure, in a way this encourages alcohol consumption, at the same time treating high blood pressure.

The majority of the participants believe in the medicinal power of alcohol, they strongly believe it relieves them of stress, constipation, helps them to sleep and helps them to eat properly (appetiser).

Res.CD1...It has a good side and a bad side; it could help you to get over your problem and help to relieve you of indigestion and help you to eat and sleep well...

The majority of the participants believe that alcoholic beverages have health benefits; they believe moderate drinking can help the body to develop and help to remove some toxic chemicals from the body. Most participants said they drink to help them through the day and make them agile with the majority of participants sharing these views.

Res. A3...alcohol has a good side and bad side, it helps you to get over your problems and helps to relieve you of stress, and it helps you to shape your body; if consumed in a moderate amount it also can help to nourish your skin....

Most of the participants believe that alcohol helps to improve their health and wellbeing if consumed moderately. The majority of the participants agreed strongly that many people treat alcohol as a product to take during difficult

and problematic periods. It is common to see unemployed citizens drinking alcohol from sunrise until sunset without any food just to cope with the situation in which they find themselves. They believe it helps to get them through the day.

Res. A4....Yea, the only thing I need to say is that some people in Lagos/Nigeria who have no job drink alcohol to cope with the situation they find themselves in..../.....especially the jobless one starting up drinking very early in the morning, yea, they drink to cope with their situation....

The majority of the law-enforcement officers agreed that Nigerians are hard working people; they mostly consumed locally brewed gin with herbs and roots soaked in it for energy to help them through the day and also consumed it as medicine and as a stimulant (prophylactics).

The regular police officers confirmed that alcohol is the main contributing factor to reckless driving and road crashes. Due to poor road infrastructure, drivers competing for space, passage for right of way on narrow and pothole-littered roads, disregard for the law coupled with a large quantity of alcohol, usually end up having a horrible road traffic accident and losing their lives.

FGD. (RPO) A...these drivers are drunk and when they are on the road they drive as if they are competing for 100Mt race..... they compete for return from their round, the alcohol they drink makes them behave like that...

The Lagos state traffic management authority (LASTMA) officers pointed out that in Lagos motor terminus (parks) and bus stops, commercial drivers actively compete among themselves for passengers and during this process alcohol is freely consumed to aid this act. How active you are could determine your daily income and take home pay. All the law-enforcement officers that participated in the focus group discussion confirmed this; most commercial drivers drink heavily at the motor terminus (parks) and use alcohol as a stimulant for this competition.

The (LASTMA) officers confirmed that alcohol is a prerequisite for being a driver in Lagos, from their own driving experience. Most law-enforcement officers identified competition as one of the reason why people drink in Lagos motor terminus (parks); this makes the management of drink-driving difficult and impossible.

FGD. Res- (LASTMA) G.....you see drivers retuning from their long journey, their first point of call is the alcohol (bar) joint; they believe it makes them work harder...

Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, the participants discussed their perceptions of why people drive under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria. The most important points from this chapter are as follows:

The three groups of law enforcement agencies did not entirely agree on the way cultural and traditional dictate the use of alcohol consumption, most of them felt that culture and tradition could not excuse failure to obey the laws.

Most participants including the law enforcement officers perceived tradition and culture as playing a major role in the way alcohol is use in the society.

There was a clear recognition across participant groups that cultural factors had a part to play in the problem use of alcohol, e.g. poverty and coping with stressful lifestyles linked to lack of employment and the difficult economic situation in Nigeria.

The next chapter will report on the three groups of law enforcement agencies perceptions of their roles and responsibility to driving under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria.

Chapter five: Law Enforcement Officers' Perceptions of their roles and responses to drink driving

This chapter describes how the three groups of law enforcement agencies perceived their roles and responsibilities in relation to responding to drink driving and their views on the factors which facilitate or are barriers to carrying out their duties. Chapter two gave details of existing laws and regulations on drinking and driving and some of the inadequacies in the laws were also pointed out. A brief description of the three groups of law enforcement agencies has also been given in Chapter one.

This chapter will elaborate on the officer's perceptions of their responsibilities and, in particular, it will highlight their accounts of the challenges and problems they encounter in the line of duty, which make it difficult for them to fulfil their enforcement roles properly. This chapter aims to explore officers' perceptions of role legitimacy and role support. The emerging themes from the three different groups of law enforcement agencies will be outlined in six main categories below:

- Officers' perceptions of their roles and responsibilities
- Officers' perceptions of others' attitudes/behaviour/perceptions of their role and effect of others on role performance
- Perceptions of their own training/skills/knowledge/abilities to carry out their duties
- Perceptions of resources and support
- Other factors which challenge /restrict role performance

- Officers' perceptions of the ways to address the issues and what would improve their role performance.

Officer's perceptions of their roles and responsibilities

In examining the perceptions of officers' roles and responsibilities, it is important that people obey the law as earlier explained in the literature review chapter.

Vehicle Inspection officers (VIO) have a clear understanding of their duties and areas of responsibility which include assessments of vehicles for (MOT)². Traffic control and management, control of drinking and driving and road traffic accident investigation. Also included in this is visiting the scene of road traffic accidents for fact finding. They are often seen on the highway during stop and search inspections throughout the state. Please see more details of (VIO) duties in the introduction chapter.

VIO officers confirmed that they are responsible for the issuing of motor cycle riders' card, drivers' license test. They are also responsible for approving application for the photo and data capturing required for the issuing of the permanent drivers licence to ride/drive a motor cycle and motor vehicles. The officers said that majority of (VIO) inspectors are qualified automobile engineers and technicians and that they use their automobile engineering knowledge to investigate road traffic accidents and the causes of road crashes.

² MOT stands for the Ministry of Transport test (usually abbreviated to MOT test): an annual test of automobile safety, roadworthiness and exhaust emissions required for all vehicles over three years old on public roads in Lagos/Nigeria

The Lagos State Traffic Management Authority (LASTMA) role is to ensure free flow of traffic and enforce traffic law in Lagos state; they also have responsibility for alcohol control and enforcement. Please see chapter one for more details. The majority of the LASTMA officers commented that there is no specific law prohibiting driving under the influence of alcohol and no specific fine or punishments for any driver driving under the influence of alcohol, *“you can drink as much as you like and drive to anywhere you like”*. Due to the ambiguity in the law on driving under the influence of alcohol, performance of their role is severely hindered. The officers said that the law only allows them to arrest offenders if road traffic accident leads to fatalities.

By all available data from the study, it is clear that the LASTMA officer are not aware of the Highway Code act which says don't drink if you have to drive. But, this could be due to ignorance of the act on the part of the LASTMA officers who participated in the study. The researcher tried unsuccessfully to establish why the LASTMA officers are not aware of the Highway Code act on alcohol consumption and driving.

The majority of the officers reported that they would only arrest and detained a drunk driver to prevent them from causing an accident on the road and eventually release them when they are sober. The officers said that they have no power to prosecute drivers for drink driving offences, *“we can only arrest in the event of accident”*. As a result, LASTMA officers have never taken any drink driving offender to court unless in the event of road traffic accident fatality. The researcher confirmed this from a very senior LASTMA officer and from both private vehicle owners and commercial drivers during the

researcher's observation visit to some of the major motor terminus (parks) in Lagos state.

The primary duty of the Nigeria police force is to keep law and order, protection of lives and properties, control and enforcement of driving under the influence of alcohol, traffic control and management. The accounts of the police officers reflect the historical pattern of Nigerian police force enforcement of law and order. The officers said that in western societies i.e. UK and USA police officers are empowered to perform their duties, however in Nigeria the opposite is the case. The majority of the officers reported that they have stopped several motorist with half drank bottle of alcohol in the drivers cab or apprehend driver whilst drinking and driving on the high way or whilst drinking alcohol at road side drivers resting point but they are powerless to arrest them due to the ambiguity of the law as previously explained.

The three groups of law enforcement agencies claimed that control and management of drink driving is a major part of their duty and responsibility but lack power to arrest the offenders. The law is not specific on what to do when an offender is arrested as previously explained in the thesis, also, please see table 7 for detail.

The police officers mentioned that control of alcohol consumption and management of sales plus the opening time of shops selling alcoholic products is part of their duty, but lack power to arrest any offenders and opening and closing time defaulters. An investigation of the officers' statement by the researcher revealed that the issuing of alcohol licenses, opening and closing time regulation is managed by the local government, but the

regulations are not followed through and not enforced, hence proliferation of alcohol outlets and unregulated opening and closing times.

The officers reported that drink driving legislation is very confusing and unclear; the Highway Code act says no drink and driving, the act does not give a clear specific definition of what constitutes drink driving; the legislation is very confusing without specific punishments or fines for the offenders. Some of the officers commented that there is a law that prohibits drink driving but it is not specific on how the offenders should be punished. The Federal road safety corps agency road safety manual and Highway Code stipulates ₦400.00 (£1.50) fines for driving under the influence of alcohol offences; but they are a federal government agency and only operate on federal roads without any jurisdictions within state and local government roads. This may explain the ambiguity of drink-driving laws and enforcement and also why some of the officers reported that there is a law while some claimed that there is no law on drink driving in Lagos/Nigeria, which indicates that some of the officers are not sure of their role legitimacy. Due to the ambiguity of the legislation on drink driving and lack of official directive and guidance on how the law should be enforced; the majority of the officers said that they do not pay attention to the Highway Code act on drink-driving because the act is not clear on what to do when an arrest is made and therefore the law is not enforceable, and is as good as no law.

The majority of the (VIO) officers mentioned that the control and enforcement of drink-driving is a major part of their daily duty, they said that it is crucial to ensure that all drivers on the road comply with road safety by not endangering their own lives and that of other road users. The officers said that drink driving

posed a great danger to road user's lives and properties but claimed that they have no power to arrest any drinking and driving offenders on the road except in the event of road traffic accident fatalities.

Res.V1,Yes, alcohol control is part of our duty because we ensure safety on the road and if a driver is drunk, then the safety of that driver, the passengers and other road users is compromised.....

Although the VIO officers reported that their slogan is zero alcohol concentration in your blood while driving any motor vehicle, they claimed that the enforcement of this law is difficult without clear punishments to serve as a deterrent to the would be offenders.

Res. V9.....As I have said earlier, it's zero blood alcohol concentration while in control of any vehicle....

There are many similarities of duties and functions between the VIO and LASTMA officers, they both perform similar duties but lack power of arrest except in the event of fatal road traffic accidents as previously explained; please see Table 7, page 123 for full enforcement officer's duties.

The VIO are the only law enforcement agency among the three different groups that participated in the study who reported that they are empowered to use breathalysers for the detection of alcohol on suspected drivers. The

narrative account of the Nigerian police officers revealed the inadequacy and ambiguity of the law and enforcement similar to that of the VIO officer's comments. The majority of the law enforcement officers reported that it is impossible to enforce the Highway Code act due to lack of clarity and ambiguity of the legislation.

The law enforcement officers reported that they are irritated by the multiple duplication of duties by the different groups of law enforcement agencies in Lagos/Nigeria, please see table 7 below. The officers are all calling for a major overhaul of the agencies to redefine the three groups of different law enforcement agencies duties to make them more effective and efficient in performing their duty.

Table 7 Duplication of law enforcement officer's duties

<u>Law enforcement officers duties</u>	<u>VIO</u>	<u>LASTMA</u>	<u>NPF</u>
Traffic enforcement and management	Yes	Yes	Yes
Traffic control and management	Yes	Yes	Yes
Control and management of drink driving	Yes	Yes	Yes
Accident management on the road	Yes	Yes	Yes
Inspection of vehicles on the road	Yes	Yes	Yes
Inspections of vehicle documents	Yes	Yes	Yes
Stop and check/search on the road	Yes	Yes	Yes
Arrest and detection of drink driving offenders in the events of accident	Yes	Yes	Yes

Officer's perceptions of others attitudes/behaviour/perceptions of their role and effect of others on role performance

The majority of the law enforcement officers commented that the majority of the population do not like law enforcement officers. The officers said that majority of Lagosians/Nigerians do not believe that they could get justice from the Nigerian law enforcement agencies.

Res. P7....majority of Nigerians does not like law enforcement officers, but as an officer, we have to keep our cool and just perform our duty as police officers....we know the citizens dislike the law enforcement officers...

The majority of the officers reported that even when you stop motorist for their own safety, there is this apprehension and natural mistrust between law enforcement officers and the public. The officers believe that if the relationship between them and the general public is cordial, the benefits will be for the good of everybody in the society.

Majority of the law enforcement officers reported that Lagos commercial drivers are very aggressive and dangerous; the police officers said that many of their colleagues have been killed by dangerous drink driving commercial driver while trying to evade being stopped. The officer mentioned that those commercial drivers are responsible for 8 out of 10 road crashes in Lagos/Nigeria. The officer mentioned that it is not about drink driving alone but a broader attitude, aggressiveness and disrespectful to traffic regulation,

law and order by the commercial drivers. At times they drive against traffic and in the process causes fatal road traffic accident.

Res.V5...our problem is the commercial drivers; they are generally very aggressive on the road, they don't like enforcement officers, they don't believe that our duty is to protect lives and properties and keep peace in the society....

The officer reported that when they stop commercial driver on the road for routine stop and check; it sometimes degenerated into confrontation between the commercial drivers and the law enforcement officers.

The majority of the officers reported that the rich people in the society abuse their power; the politicians are regarded as the worst culprits.

Res. P4....the politicians treat law enforcement officers without any respect, disobey the law and abuse their power.../..

The officers said that the influential people in the society hindered the enforcement and management of driving under the influence of alcohol. The officers described how the rich and powerful people in the society destroyed the law enforcement agencies ability to carry out effective control and enforcement of road traffic law. The officers reported that the rich and powerful politicians expected to be given preferential treatment in the society

even when a crime had been committed. The officers claimed that the rich powerful politicians expect law enforcement officers to respect them and let them go free even when an offence has been committed purely because of their standing and position in the society. It is not uncommon when an offence has been committed by an influential people, the person will call top senior officer, and sometime they call the Inspector of the police and just pass the phone to you to speak to the person on the phone. If you disobey, you could see yourself out of the force. Some of the educated elites respected the legitimacy of the law enforcement officers but the illiterate commercial driver does not. The officers have to be seen to be fair when dealing with the citizens either rich or poor, educated or not to be able to commend legitimacy and respect in the eyes of the people they serve. Legitimacy comes with being fair when dealing with the people in a manner that the people will feel that they are being treated fairly, with respect, and justice are discharge equitably by the authority.

Res. P2.the law is not a respecter of anybody, sometimes the rich people will say I will call your IG, but the IG knows that the law must be respected....//... rich people always expect special treatment from law enforcement officer.....

Perceptions of their own training/skills/knowledge/abilities to carry out their duties

The majority of the law enforcement officers reported that their training and remuneration were grossly inadequate and the forces from top to bottom are deprived of modern training and equipment. It is very common for some police formation/division to rely on public donation from highly influential politician and very rich business community to function and perform their duty.

The Nigerian police are the worst funded government organisation among the law enforcement agency. The majority of the police officer reported that they use their own private vehicle on official duties because their unit have no funding to purchase police vehicles; this has a damaging effect and damages the image of the Nigerian police. You sometimes read about police brutality and indiscriminate accidental discharge of bullets from police gun, this is due to frustration and lack of proper and adequate training.

Res. P4.....we are the bad government agency that is why the authorities don't give us adequate training and funding, we run our stations from voluntary donations from the rich people public....

Perceptions of resources and support

The VIO are the only law enforcement agency who claimed that they have access to instruments to determine if a driver on the road had been drinking alcohol or not. The officers also reported that they use the normal road speed

limit to judge if a particular driver is driving under the influence of alcohol or not. A driver driving under the influence of alcohol will normally be driving very fast, without due consideration to other road users. The officers said that they normally mount stop-and-checks on major roads (check points). At the check points; a suspected driver driving under the influence of alcohol will be stopped and tested for alcohol with a breathalyser to confirm if they have been drinking or not. If a driver tested positive to alcohol, their vehicle will be impounded and the driver will be arrested and issued with a re-training order at the drivers' institute. Also a ticket will be issued for the driver to undergo a psychiatric assessment and a production of a three-year tax clearance certificate before they can reclaim their vehicle. The officers commented that the fine is to serve as a deterrent to other drivers and also to raise revenue for the government.

Res. V5, We use the speed limit on the highway, town road and on estate roads to determine that a driver is drunk. If you have gone beyond the normal speed limit we know you have been drinking. ...we have equipment (breathalysers) to check if the driver is drunk or not, from the equipment we are looking for zero reading of alcohol from drivers...

The officers reported that 9 out of 10 drivers stopped in Lagos are driving under the influence of alcohol. The officers said that stop-and-test at random is a powerful way to prevent drink-driving on the road. The VIO officer commented that they are fortunate to be the only enforcement agency in

Lagos/Nigeria that is well equipped with breathalysers to check for drink-driving on the road. The officers mentioned that they are worried by the number of people tested positive for alcohol at stop-and-check points on the roads. The VIO officers said that the majority of the offenders do not realise that driving under the influence of alcohol could endanger their lives and that of other road users. The officers said that the majority of the offenders are ignorant of the danger of alcohol consumption to their health and how it could affect their concentration whilst driving a motor vehicle on the road.

Res.V2 ...use detectors if we have reason to believe that a driver on the road is driving under the influence of alcohol, we use the detector to confirm, if they are tested positive, then we impound their vehicle and bring such vehicle to our yard.....

The police officers reported that drink driving offenders are only arrested and detained overnight at the law enforcement officer's station to prevent them from causing road traffic accidents and are usually released the following day without any charge after they have become sober.

Res. P10....the law does not permit prosecution of drink driving; the law says keep the driver until the alcohol is cleared from their system and let them go.....

The police officers said that if a road traffic accident leads to fatalities, then such an offender would be taken to a government hospital for a blood alcohol concentration test to determine their blood alcohol level. Such a driver will be arrested if tested positive for alcohol. When the researcher pressed further for what action would be taken against such offenders after having tested positive for alcohol, the majority of the police officers could not provide an answer to what eventually would happen to the offenders. The police officers reported that their duty could be made easier, and their efforts more efficient and effective if they were empowered to arrest and prosecute all drink driving offenders.

Res. M....the law need to be made clearer what to do with drink driving offender when arrested on the road, good policy will help to improve their performance.....

Also, improvements could be made if they were provided with up to date infrastructure, for example breathalysers, as available in western countries. The officers reported that they have not seen a breathalyser before. They said that they would like to be given the appropriate equipment, training and authority to arrest and prosecute drink driving offenders. The researcher tried to ascertain that the officers had not seen a breathalyser before by showing them photographs of a breathalyser. None of the officers could correctly identify a breathalyser among the photos on display, this confirmed their claim that they had not seen one before. The researcher also sought confirmation

from members of the public if they knew of anyone or if they themselves had been convicted for drink-driving offence in the past. Some of the people interviewed by the researcher during observation visits to the community confirmed that they regularly drive under the influence of alcohol and had been stopped by law enforcement officers on several occasions but had never been arrested, taken to court or even reprimanded. The participants confirmed that alcohol is free for all; they queried the researcher as to why they would be arrested when they have not committed any criminal offence. The majority of the police officers claimed that the enforcement of drink driving offences is never a priority to them when on duty, because there is no specific law and penalty for what should happen to drink driving offenders.

All the law enforcement officers said that the effective enforcement and management of law and order would greatly help to reduce the incidence of driving under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria. The officers commented that the way drink driving offences are dealt with could serve as a lesson and deterrent to other drivers and could further help to reduce the incidence of drinking and driving and road crashes. The majority of the officers reported that sometimes people behave in a dignified; polite and are very unusually nice when they are stopped on the road. However when interrogated and probed deeper, they are found to be driving under the influence of alcohol and merely trying to cover up by being nice and polite to the officers. The officers said that not everyone who is polite and well behaved on the road is necessarily a criminal or has committed an offence. Law enforcement officers treat each individual as a different case. Sometimes

people have something to hide by treating law enforcement officers nicely and in a polite manner at the road check point to hide their criminality.

The VIO officers reported that when they suspect that a driver is driving under the influence of alcohol on the road, they will stop them and they will be breathalysed. The offender vehicle will be taken to VIO yard if the driver tested positive for alcohol.

Res.V3...Impound their vehicle, we also have our own training [CD] for safe driving to complement the safe drive campaigns; we make the offender watch it before their vehicle is released to them...

Other factors which present challenges/restrict the officer's role performance

There were numerous challenges that prevented the officers from performing their duties; there were environmental factors which prevented the officers from performing their duties, some of these have been covered in Chapter 4, for example tradition and culture. The officers claimed that legislation and enforcement of the law on drink-driving is paramount in combating drink-driving in any society. There is no better place to get a view on the traffic chaos in Nigeria than in Lagos state. Lagos is the capital of automobile road traffic accidents in Nigeria with the failure of road users to obey basic road safety rules, lack of regulations and legislation being the cause of road traffic accidents. The police officers also identified lack of resources and ineptitude

coupled with corruption on the part of government officials and politicians has rendering vehicle examinations ineffective and law enforcement on drink driving useless.

The law enforcement officers reported that they are not given the opportunity to perform their legitimate duty due to influential politicians and the elites in the society.

FGD. (RPO) C... Sometimes they blackmail you when you stop them on the road, they sometimes claim to be senator this or that, or a minister's driver or brother or girl friends, if care is not taken you are out of the force if you try to follow the law and arrest them...

The police officers reported that high-level senior officers' corruption hindered the law enforcement agencies from performing their duty. The officers reported that sometimes when junior officers arrested a drink-driving offender after a fatal road traffic accident or for any other criminal offence; it is not uncommon that such offender or criminal will be released without any charge by a directive from a high ranking senior officer taking instruction from highly placed people in society. The majority of the law enforcement officers reported similar experiences of high level corruption and nepotism within the law enforcement agencies. The researcher discovered that bribes taken by the officers are very common. Innocent citizens have been killed for refusing to give monetary bribes to police officers at road check points. Also there have been celebrated cases of disappearances of dangerous criminals from

police custody because they are able to bribe their way out of police custody and evade justice. This could explain why the Nigerian police lack legitimacy as explained in the literature review chapter.

Res. P9...if we say there is law, and the senior officers and highly placed people are the ones who break the law, the government official and their family are the ones drinking and driving, what will you do? Will you arrest your superior or government official?

...They will tell you that they are coming from party with their family, I went out to enjoy myself, and so what will you do?you will have to let them go.Clearly; am not sure if there is lawI don't know if there is law...

Some of the officers said that it is difficult to believe that there is a law prohibiting driving under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria due to the prevalence of drink-driving in the society. The officers reported that there is law but there are a lot of problems associated with how the law is implemented and a lot of reasons why it is not enforced. Some of the problems that prevented the enforcement of the drink driving law are ambiguity of the legislation and a high level of official corruption and political influences. The law enforcement officer reported that it is common for a very high-placed politician and rich influential individuals to secure the release of offenders and criminals contravening the law.

Res. P7...especially with the era of mobile phone, you have just arrested an offender and a few minutes later you receive a phone call, look that man is my person, and you have no option but to release them without any charge.senior officers above us are not making our job easier for us ...our superior officers' talk you down like you are a stupid man.../.. or some statement like you don't know what you are doing...

The police officers reported that they are frustrated with lack of equipment, scientific definitions and technical benchmarks for blood alcohol concentrations. When offenders are apprehend for drink driving on the road or at the scene of road traffic accident, the officers said that they have to move very close to the offenders to establish if there is the smell of alcohol. The determination of if drivers have been drinking alcohol is very difficult without any equipment and lack of role support as explained in Chapter 2; this is made worse if the driver has died in the crash. The police officers said that it is their duty to ascertain whether alcohol was involved in any road traffic accident or not, the officers said that in the event when the driver is dead, a government doctor will be invited to carry out assessment on the dead driver to ascertain whether alcohol was involved or not.

Res. P3 ...it is very difficult to determine if a driver had been drinking without any equipment to perform the test, in most of this situation we have to use our judgement....

The majority of the officers reported that the control, enforcement and management of alcohol are greatly hampered by lack of legislative directives and power. What is the acceptable level of alcohol a driver may consume and still legally permitted to drive? The majority of the officers claimed that they had to use their own discretion and judgement to assess if drivers were driving under the influence of alcohol, a very difficult task. The researcher visited some major motor terminus (parks) in Lagos to confirm the officers' methods of assessing whether a driver is driving under the influence of alcohol. It was confirmed by some of the stakeholders and members of the public that sometimes when they are stopped on the road the police officer tries to smell their breath. An observation visit to some of the police road stop-and-check points confirmed this statement but what happens after that is a guess work.

Res. P5.....at times the police officer will move close to the driver to perceive the smell of alcohol, just to find out if the driver had been drinking or not, if you perceive the odour of alcohol, then you know the driver has been drinking but how much ?...

The Nigerian police and LASTMA said that the methods available to them for the determination of alcohol on drivers on the road is still the old way of applying the sobriety test and sniffing. Smelling alcohol on drivers to determine whether a driver is driving under the influence of alcohol on the road is a popular method with the officers. They also reported that they use

physical observation of a suspected offender's behaviour. The officers claimed that no other method for testing for alcohol is available to them, except if such an offender is taken to a government hospital for blood test assessments. This is not always possible due to lack of infrastructure. The officers reported that sometimes the unit may not even have a functional patrol vehicle to take the offenders to the government hospital. The officer mentioned that drivers who have been consuming alcohol exhibit abnormal behaviour when they are stop on the road. The officer said that the way drivers respond to questions, difficulties with coordination and lack of cooperation with officer's simple instructions will make them aware if they have been drinking alcohol. The officers reported that when they stop a suspected driver driving under the influence of alcohol on the road, they are usually very aggressive and very loud, and uncooperative when given the simplest instruction.

Res. P6 ...drunk drivers drive recklessly on the highway; people driving under the influence of alcohol will not obey traffic law, will be speeding excessively, like to overtake ... looking at them you could tell a drunk driver.Police officers have lost their lives on duty to drunk drivers, just last week we lost two officers to drunk drivers...

The officers reported that lack of equipment and infrastructure had hindered and impacted negatively on their ability to effectively manage drink driving and enforcement of the law in Lagos/Nigeria.

The officer's views reflect that of (Babor et al. 2004, pp. 141). In his publication he said licensed premises usually belong to the influential and elite people in society and such premises have been identified as drinking locations that are especially high risk for alcohol-related intoxication, drink-driving, aggression and violence on the road. Some of the officers said that due to the action of influential politicians in society towards law-enforcement officers, enforcement of the law was made impossible; the officers believed that Nigerians do not respect the Nigerian police force or any law enforcement officers and consequently disregard the law on safe driving.

FGD. (LASTMA) F... rich politicians and privileged people are the causes of all the bad things that happen in this country. It is not possible to tell Nigerians how much alcohol they should drink, you are joking, and it is not possible. Can you arrest politician's children or their family? Nigerians respect the civilian more than they respect the police force, it is the fault of the politicians and their families...

The majority of the law enforcement officers commented that they would like to perform their legitimate duty but were unable to do so due to the influence of privileged people in the society. They said that, it is almost impossible to arrest the family and relations of the rich and privileged politicians in society; even when it can be proven that crime had been committed.

FGD.(VIO) L....the law enforcement officers are not to blame but we are not allowed to enforce the law, we could not arrest the rich powerful politicians and their family for drink driving offence in Lagos/Nigeria, even when you see that the person is drunk; we are powerless in terms of drink-driving...

The law enforcement officers perceived the rich and influential people in society to be above the law; they believe they can circumvent justice with money, influence and can do anything and get away with it. The rich and the powerful politicians believe that they have the law enforcement authorities in their pocket because of their standing in the society. As a result the officers think the rich and influential people make their job difficult and make the arresting of drunk drivers on the road next to impossible. The law is not explicit on what to do, *"all you can do is to look on and let the worst happen"*. The police officers believe that the problems in the society are due to the action of the few privileged and powerful rich people.

FGD. (RPO) C...In Nigeria there is no law; where there is law, it's not enforced. The rich and powerful will not allow the law-enforcement officer to enforce the law. The military, navy, customs, in fact all law-enforcement agencies are not allowed to carry out their legitimate duties by the rich, famous and powerful people in society.....

The police officers believe there are laws that prohibit drink-driving but due to lack of clarity, lack of scientific benchmarks and enforcement, most Lagosians carry on without adherence to the law and at the expense of safety on the road. The officers said that some law-enforcement officers are discouraged from enforcing the law on drink-driving due to the difficulties encountered from powerful politicians and rich people in society, and generally people who are well connected.

The law-enforcement officers reported that they prefer to ignore the law on drink driving rather than facing humiliation from members of the public for doing their legitimate duty. The officers commented that they seldom stop people in expensive cars and expensive native dress or suits. The officers acknowledge that this sometimes compromises their duty, especially when a crime has been committed. Some of the officers reported that there were factors that made it difficult to carry out their duty. The officers claimed that they were afraid of losing their jobs, and losing their career and future in the force. Also, they did not want to be ridiculed on the roadside by influential people in society.

FGD. (RPO) C ...it is not effective, as I said before, it's not effective, somebody who is coming from a club and is heavily drunk, you stop him on the road. He immediately calls the Inspector general of police (IGP); if care is not taken you are out of the force. The problem is our rich and powerful politicians; they make the law and destroy it at the same time...

The officers think that the law on drink driving is very fluid, vague and is as good as no law. They claim to be handicapped when enforcing the law without scientific definitions of what quantity of blood alcohol concentration (BAC) levels are allowed before driving any motor vehicles. The law enforcement officers think this presents a difficult challenge in managing the current trend of drinking and driving and automobile crashes in Lagos/Nigeria.

FGD. (LASTMA) E...when you see a drunk driver, you stop them but there is nothing you can do, hence we have all these deadly accidents on our roads....

However, the police officers reported that lack of professionalism from their superiors was responsible for the poor state of enforcement of the existing laws on drink driving, no matter how fluid or vague the law is; it should be vigorously enforced. Some of the officers put the blame on the law-enforcement authorities instead of the influential and rich citizens. The police officers believed their inability to enforce the limited available law on drink-driving to the letter are due to the manipulation of the system by the rich and influential people in the society. The Nigerian police force officers are the only law-enforcement authority that believes there is law on drink-driving but believes it is not adequate and not enforceable. The officers commented that it has been very bad in the past; people consumed alcohol in open places at motor terminus (parks) and bus stops. Now they consume it in the corner to hide it from the public and from law-enforcement officers. The researcher

visited few motor terminuses for field study observation. The situation still remains the same; there are many alcohol sales outlets in and around all the motor parks visited in Lagos/Nigeria.

FGD. (RPO) F...../.....within the last two years, we have stopped people selling alcohol at bus stops. The issue here is that people do not know the real danger of alcohol...../.....We has laws that prohibit drinking driving but the law is not effective and enforced here in Lagos.....

However, some officers believed that the law is clear; consumption of alcohol is forbidden whilst driving a motor vehicle. The laxity in application of the law makes it difficult for law-enforcement officers to enforce the law. The influential people in society regularly flout the law and make it difficult for the law-enforcement authorities to perform their duties. Their actions undermine what is a clear law; if you drink you do not drive.

Officer's perceptions on the ways to address the issues and what would improve their role performance

The enforcement officers outlined area of improvement that they believe will help to improve their role performance.

The younger law enforcement officers among the participants said that they would like to see a change in the way they discharge their duty regarding the

management and enforcement of the law on drinking and driving. They said currently there is no effective control and enforcement of the law in place for driving under the influence of alcohol and urged the government to urgently clarify and re-define the law on drink driving to help them discharge their duty effectively and efficiently. The majority of the law enforcement officers that participated in the research said that drink driving harms, damages individuals and communities forever. Drivers, passengers, pedestrians and properties are destroyed as a consequence of driving under the influence of alcohol.

“ the law enforcement officers commented that it is the duty of the government at all levels to ensure that any citizens are able to carry out their lawful duty safely either as a driver, passenger or pedestrian on the road”.

The officers commented that nothing is more important to any government than the safety of lives and property of their citizens - to ensure when the citizens leave home for work or on a journey they return safely back home to their families and loved one.

Res. P8.....The officers said that to achieve this objective is a task of government at all level...

The law enforcement officers reported that drink driving is influenced by social attitudes. In Lagos/Nigeria tradition encourages the consumption of alcohol at home and even in the work place. This is because alcohol is used as a medicinal product as previously explained. The officers said that the introduction of stricter laws on drink driving will help to change those social attitudes. The law enforcement officers believe that changes in social attitudes and institution will require stricter law, willingness and determination to enforce the law from the federal government to state level. The officers believe that if the availability of alcohol is strictly controlled, it will go a long way to change citizens' alcohol consumption habits. The officers said that the introduction of heavy penalties for unauthorised sales outlets will help to change those social attitudes of alcohol consumption at any time of the day or night and will also change those popular beliefs that alcohol helps people to work harder and is useful as a medicinal product.

The officers believe there is an urgent need for proportionate penalties for drink-driving offenders. Most of the law enforcement officers called for criminalisation of drink driving in Lagos/Nigeria. The officers said that there is an urgent need for the introduction of instant testing equipment for alcohol and outright bans on the sales and consumption of alcohol within the motor terminus (parks) and bus stops in the state and in the country as a whole. The majority of the officers reported the lack of control of alcohol sales outlets, the location and the opening hours for liquor outlets, they commented on a situations where you could purchase alcohol as early as 6am, the officers said that *"this should not be allowed to continue"*. The officers said that the issuing, management and enforcement of alcohol sales licenses should be the

responsibility of the police authority; currently this is bestowed on the corrupt council technocrat officials.

Res. P5.the government as a matter of urgency should legislate new laws to check-mate the sales of alcohol at the motor parks, bus stops and all outdoor drinking places in the state...

Data from social groups of people and majority of the law enforcement officers described the price of alcohol as very cheap and suggested that the price of alcohol should be made more expensive. The data from the officer's interviews also suggested that alcoholic beverage taxes should be increased to make it more expensive to discourage people from buying cheap alcohol.

Res. P2. ...make laws to regulate the amount of alcohol an individual can purchase and consume at a time ...impose heavy duty tax on alcohol to make it more expensive..

The account of the officers reflected the way alcohol is sold and consumed in Lagos/Nigeria. The majority of the officers commented that it is cheaper to drink alcohol than to drink bottled water in some area of Lagos state as alcohol is more easily accessible than bottled water. The majority of the officers implored the federal, state and local government to work together to

enact stringent laws prohibiting the sales of cheap homemade alcoholic beverages in the country especially in and around the motor terminus (parks).

The officers said that the government should set up a special force within the police force to enforce drink-driving laws in order to ensure that sanity prevails in order to reduce the deadly traffic crashes on the road. The participants commented on the sale and consumption of alcohol at the motor terminus (parks) and bus stops. They suggested that the sales of alcohol within a certain distance of the motor terminus (parks) and bus stops should be made a criminal offence. The officers lamented the lack of clear directives and legal backing from their superiors and a defined legislation to arrest and prosecute those people who sell alcohol at the motor terminus (parks) and drink driving offenders. All the law enforcement officers that participated in the focus group discussion had no knowledge of what is an acceptable or safe blood alcohol concentration (BAC) legal limit for driving motor vehicles on the road.

FGD. (RPO) A....my own view, the government should form a special unit in the force to monitor and enforce the sales and consumption of alcohol in the motor parks and bus stops. /..... If the government could do this, you would see a reduction in road traffic accidents in Lagos. In fact one of the major problems is the so-called soaked roots and herbs medicine; it is a killer and full of chemicals that have different types of names. The government should outlaw and prevent these chemical drinks from being sold.

Some of the police officers believed that the situation has improved within the last couple of years; they reported that a visit to some of the motor terminus (parks) in Lagos shows a marginal reduction in the number of alcohol traders. This statement is contrary to what the researcher discovered at Ojota motor terminus (park) during observation field study visits. The researcher counted numerous alcohol sales outlets at the park. The majority of the officers advocated for a total ban on the sales and consumption of the traditional herbs and plants roots medicine soaked in alcohol in and around the motor terminus (parks) and bus stops in the state.

Res. L3 ...task forces should be set up to check the sales and consumption of alcohol at motor parks and bus stops....//....especially the local medicinal roots soaked in alcohol....

The majority of the officers believe that the only way to make Lagos/Nigerian road safer from drink driving is to introduce heavy penalties; a stricter law and criminalisation of driving under the influence of alcohol with a jail term. One of the officers suggested that the government should introduce a national slogan to show its seriousness and also introduce up to 5 years in prison minimum to serve as a deterrent to others.

Res. V9. If you drink, don't drive, if you drive don't drink...slogan...//.. Send them to jail forever...

The officers lamented that the situation is so bad that they would like to have the power to arrest and prosecute anybody driving under the influence of alcohol rather than waiting until accidents happen before the offenders could be arrested.

In Lagos/Nigeria, alcohol is regarded as an ordinary product sold purely for economic reasons. Due to the economic situation alcohol is sold everywhere in Lagos as previously explained. The officers believe that the situation will remain the same unless the policy makers from the federal to state level urgently introduce drastic measures and enact tougher laws banning driving under the influence of alcohol. The officers said that they would like to see a massive advertising campaign on radio, newspapers and TV, highlighting the dangers and the consequences of driving under the influence of alcohol and the consequence of alcohol consumption to the body. Currently, the officers reported that not much has been done about the danger of alcohol to personal health in general. The VIO officers said that they have started organising a road show enlightenment campaign to educate the general public. They reported that they have started visiting the motor terminus parks, tertiary institutions and shopping malls to enlighten the citizens about the dangers of alcohol consumption to the body, the danger of driving under the influence of alcohol and the danger it poses to society in general. The officers said that drivers must understand that drink driving does not just risk and endanger their lives but everybody in society because when a road traffic accident occurred, everybody suffered and the communities are affected for a long time. The officers urged the federal, state and local government to urgently introduce an aggressive campaign to educate the citizens about the dangers

of alcohol consumption in general. Although the Lagos state government had tried in this aspect in recent times, these levels of effort will not be able to address the problem but will need the federal government of Nigeria's input and cooperation.

Res. V6... need more enlightenment, more education about the dangers of drink driving accident ...need to understand that drink driving risk their lives and that of other road users, drivers must understand that alcohol can kill and is bad for them...

The majority of the officers reported that Lagosians/Nigerian are concerned about the daily increase of road traffic accidents in the state. The officers said that Lagosians see drivers consuming alcohol just before they set off for their trip but are helpless to do anything about it. The officers said that they would like to see federal, state and local government officials cooperating with media houses, visiting motor terminus (parks) for road shows and educating commercial drivers about the dangers of drinking and driving and the long term effects of alcohol on the body. The officers believe that using graphic images of road traffic accidents to campaign in all the local languages at the major motor terminus (parks) will help to reduce driving under the influence of alcohol and will help to change people's attitudes to alcohol consumptions and driving.

The VIO are the only agency that reported that the situation is gradually improving due to their road show campaigns and educational enlightenment activities at the motor terminus (parks). The VIO officers praised the current administration of the Lagos state government for its timely actions on the issues of driving under the influence of alcohol and road transport infrastructure development projects throughout the state. The law enforcement officers commented that the Lagos state government has in recent years increased the number of LASTMA officers on road patrol, and has also assisted the road show campaigns. The law enforcement officer said that the federal government however has not help the situation; they have not assisted the state and local governments to tackle the ever-growing problem of excessive alcohol consumption by the citizens.

Res. L2. ...the present governor of Lagos state had been doing a lot to educate drivers about the dangers of driving under the influence of alcohol and had embarked on road infrastructural development...

Another important point raised by the officers was, the government should set up a special task force unit within the police force to patrol motor terminus (parks), bus stops and open drinking places in collaboration with the commercial drivers trade union representatives and community associations members. This team would jointly educate their members and the public on the danger of driving under the influence of alcohol.

Conclusion to the chapter

In this chapter, the law enforcement officers discussed how they perceived their roles in relation to drink driving in Lagos/Nigeria and how they would like to see the government introducing stricter laws to control the sales and consumption of alcohol. The officers also commented on the lack of clarity of officer's roles, and the ambiguity of drink driving legislation. Law enforcement officers would like to see a clear define role for each of the enforcement agencies in the country, a situation where three different agency performing similar duties could not be sustained, there should be a well define role for the enforcement agencies

The law enforcement officers believe that the influence of highly-placed influential people in the society compromised their role legitimacy in the eyes of the citizens. Professional support from senior officer would greatly help to improve the way the enforcement officers discharge their duty.

The officers would like to discharge their duties effectively but could not do so due to lack of professionalism by some of the senior officers, lack of support, ambiguity of the law and lack of adequate training and infrastructure greatly hampered their role adequacy.

Introduction:

This thesis is concerned with the role of law enforcement officers in responding to driving under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria. More specifically, it examines how they perceive their role, the challenges they face in addressing drink driving and the ways in which they attempt to meet these challenges. The research study examines the factors which constrain the officer's ability to carry out their roles effectively and which influence their sense of professional identity. The thesis also considers how law enforcement officers perceive driving under the influence of alcohol more widely in society; and their perceptions of the social, cultural and economic factors which influence driving under the influence of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria. Deterrence theory (and the tensions between deterrence and legitimacy approaches) and theories of professional identity provided useful insights into the issues and the contexts which frame police officers' actions in carrying out their duties. This chapter draws together the findings, gives a brief summary of the aim of the study, its importance and a brief statement of the methods used. The chapter introduces the implications of the study for policy makers and law enforcement; it discusses the need for further research in the area of drinking and driving law enforcement in Lagos/Nigeria and comments on its contribution to knowledge and teaching practice.

As explained in previous chapters, there is a high incidence of road traffic accidents in Lagos/Nigeria. According to the enforcement officers who participated in the research study, the majority of these accidents may be alcohol related, and as explained earlier in the thesis, there are a number of

factors that contribute to these accidents. Among these factors are drinking and driving, a growing number of vehicles on the road network, Nigerians attitudes to road safety and an inadequacy of drink-driving policy regulation and enforcement. Drink driving accidents have serious social and economic implications for Nigeria. However, numerous gaps exist in this research field in Nigeria. These gaps include lack of accurate information and statistics on drink driving accidents, and the real economic effect of driving under the influence of alcohol (DUI) in Lagos/Nigeria. The social acceptability of certain illegal activities such as driving under the influence of alcohol varies from country to country with emerging nations, such as Nigeria typically being more tolerant of certain antisocial behaviours, such as driving under the influence of alcohol, compared to industrialized nations like the United Kingdom or United States (Parboteeah, Hoegl & Cullen, 2003).

This research has examined the role of law enforcement officers in responding to issues of driving under the influence of alcohol. It explored the officers' perceptions of their roles and in particular their views on the factors which facilitate or are barriers to carrying out their duties. The discussion of law enforcement and the roles of the officers were set within the context of the cultural influences and the social and political constraints derived from their professional status within Nigerian society. As explained in the literature reviews and findings chapters, the study drew on a range of theoretical perspectives to explore officer's perceptions of issues of role legitimacy, role adequacy and role support. The research study drew on phenomenological design approaches. A series of face-to-face semi-structured interviews with different law enforcement agencies and different social groups of people in

the society was conducted in Lagos/Nigeria. Focus groups discussions were also carried out with three different groups of law enforcement agencies.

The key themes which emerged from the research identified factors related to current social practices and policies which influenced drinking and drink driving and had a strong impact on how officers understood their responsibilities and the problems they encountered in carrying out their duties.

The role of law enforcement, as seen through the eyes of the three groups of law enforcement officers was shown to be problematic and subject to constraints which not only placed limitations on how officers carried out their duties but also affected their perceptions of their professional status and role. Issues of role legitimacy, role adequacy and role support had a bearing on how officers carried out their duties.

These two main themes are highlighted briefly below:

- The impact of the cultural, social and political context of drink driving on law enforcement officers' perception of their role
- Understanding how officers' perceived their role in addressing drinking and driving.

Key factors which were seen to influence officers' perceptions and what they could achieve were the influence of tradition and culture, the availability of alcohol and the perceived beneficial effects of alcohol, all of which coloured officers' perceptions of their roles and responsibilities. In addition, officers reported the effects on role performance of issues related to their status in

society, including the attitudes/behaviour of others which impacted on feelings of legitimacy, adequacy and support in their roles. Resource factors, such as the availability of adequate equipment and the level of training were also acknowledged as important in facilitating or hindering effective law enforcement of driving under the influence of alcohol.

The cultural, social and political context of drink driving in Lagos/Nigeria

The findings of this study largely confirm the existing literature on the influence of culture and tradition on alcohol consumption in Lagos/Nigeria. Findings from the research support Gureje's (1999) study which says that culture plays a vital role in Lagosians/Nigerian lives. Lagosians believe that consumption of alcohol is good for their health; alcohol is regarded on the same level as food and medicine, as previously explained in the thesis. Moreover alcohol is seen as part of their traditional heritage. Alcohol consumption in Lagos/Nigeria is very much the cultural norm and culture emphasizes drinking alcohol as a part of traditional entertainment as well as for health purposes. According to Gureje (1999), any legislation that discourages Lagosians/Nigerian from alcohol consumption is seen as an intrusion into their traditions and cultural heritage and will not be tolerated. This was also a typical view among the participants in this study and was acknowledged by police officers to be an important factor which coloured their own thinking and affected how others regarded law enforcement around driving under the influence of alcohol. Traditional drinking habits also help to

increase the rate of the drink driving problem; for example, the majority of drink driving is concentrated on evening and weekend nights in Lagos/Nigeria with weekend nights being associated with parties and traditional ritual times. As discussed earlier in the thesis, public use of alcohol (in bars) is mostly by men and, compared to many European countries, women drink very little. Drink driving is, therefore, likely to be a male rather than a female issue.

These strongly held traditions and beliefs about alcohol have an important bearing on drink driving issues and influence the kinds of responses and policies and enforcement which might be effective in tackling the problem in Lagos/Nigeria. For instance, as earlier chapters have indicated, traditionally Lagosians/Nigerians believe in the activities of evil spirits, voodoo and witchcraft; people spend long hours in white garments (Aladura & Churches)³, and spiritual houses seeking protection from evil spirits. The belief is that alcohol consumption is induced and forced upon the drinkers by evil spirits and witchcrafts. This traditional belief only encourages drinking and driving on the grounds that it was the work of the evil spirits rather than their action and responsibility. To take another example, as noted previously, the majority of the participants including law enforcement officers believed that alcohol helps them to perform better at work. They claimed it gives them confidence and “shine their eyes” (help them to see properly) at work and also when driving.

³ The Cherubim and Seraphim Aladura (C&S) church was founded by Moses Orimolade, a Yoruba prophet, an Anglican who had experienced visions and trances. In 1925-26 the church was formed with doctrines of revelation and divine healing replacing traditional charms and traditional medicine. They separated out from the Anglican and other churches in 1928. They are the popular white garment church in Nigeria and most African countries, hugely patronised by their followers for their spiritual healing power.

All the participants confirmed to the researcher that they have soaked herbs in alcohol at home as a form of medicine to cure ailment e.g. (malaria). This is a clear indication of lack of good health care provision in the country and this help to increase the over reliance on traditional leaves and herbs soaked in alcohol and contributed to the problem of driving under the influence of alcohol. Majority of the citizen drive after consuming these traditional medicines without realising that they are driving under the influence of alcohol which could endanger their own lives and that of the public.

The research data reveals that there is an urgent need to control and restrict the availability of alcohol and introduce stricter laws to control the leaves and herbs soaked in alcohol as medicine. The law enforcement officers commented that the place of tradition and cultural influence on alcohol consumption in Lagos/Nigeria could not be disregarded but should be treated holistically to ensure that tradition, law and order could co-exist. As already highlighted, this could only be achieved by involving the traditional leaders and rulers in educational enlightenment campaigns about the danger involved in the traditional and cultural use of alcohol as medicine.

The majority of Lagosians/Nigerian drivers will argue that alcohol plays no part in them being involved in a road traffic accident, regardless of the quantity of alcohol they may have consumed. If an accident occurs after consuming alcohol this is not seen as a direct result of the alcohol consumed, but either an act of God or due to witchcraft or evil spirits, these beliefs run deep in the society and cannot be ignored and highlights the need for an enlightenment campaign against the use of alcoholic drink as an important traditional and recreational products which is beneficial to the body once

again this can only be achieved with the involvements of the traditional heads and rulers in the communities through communal/clan meeting.

Alcohol is considerably cheaper than bottled water in some communities in Lagos/Nigeria. A recent Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) interview in March, 2014 with professor Wole Soyinka⁴ acknowledged that he would rather drink wine and alcohol in majority of the communities in Nigeria rather than drinking water because he considered the water to be unsafe for consumption. Majority of the participants confirmed that in some rural settings alcohol is considered to be safer to drink than water from the community supplies, this also contributed to the over consumption of alcohol in the society. The interviewees also mentioned that sometimes you could go for miles without drinkable water but alcohol is easily and always available in large quantity.

The majority of the participants reported that the easy availability of alcohol in the society was a consequence of huge unemployment in Lagos/Nigeria, which led many people to engage in selling alcohol as a means of earning a living. The interviewees also mentioned that in the past, alcohol was available for consumption only once a week and on a limited basis like an important occasions and celebrations; but nowadays it is available everywhere, every street corner, every bus stop and Motor terminus (parks). This sudden change in alcohol availability and consumption pattern happened in the 1980`s after the civilian administration was deposed by the military. Major unemployment

⁴ Wole Soyinka is a Nigerian playwright and poet; and a critic of the government because of the corruption system in the society. He was awarded the 1986 Nobel Prize in Literature, the first person in Africa to be so honoured. Soyinka was born in 1934 into a Yoruba family in Abeokuta, Ogun state.

in the big cities occurred after the military coup due to large numbers of people migrating from the rural areas to the big cities because of lack of job opportunities in the rural areas and presumably hoping to find work and better prospects for a better future in the big cities.

Ashe et al. (2003) suggest that no strategy will affect the supply of alcohol availability unless applied in practice and enforced with very strong legislative power and heavy punishments. Data from the study shows that policy is never effectively implemented and enforced in Lagos/Nigeria and for any policy to work effectively; it must be properly enforced and backed with heavy sanction for the defaulters. The authority has to show willingness to empower the law enforcement officers to enforce the law. For this policy to work, the citizens must be made aware of the danger and the risk of alcohol consumption to the public health and drink driving. There must be intensive re-engineering of the policy system by stakeholders and interest groups in the society to ensure that the policy makers are willing to make the change with the involvement of the traditional rulers and the law enforcement agencies.

According to Babor et al (2010) pp.144, to target a specific place or time where consumption of alcohol takes place may help to reduce the availability of alcohol and drink driving cases in the society. The interviewees mentioned several examples of how banning drinking in unlicensed public places may help to reduce the easy availability of alcohol and reduce drinking and driving. It is very common to see commercial and car owner drivers stopping at food restaurant on the highways throughout Nigeria. At these highway restaurants, they consumed large quantities of alcohol whilst having food before continuing with their journey. Enlightenment campaigns and road shows against these

unsocial behaviours with the help of the traditional rulers and with legislation to outlaw this practice of drinking alcohol in highway food restaurants and public unlicensed places may help to reduce access to alcoholic products and reducing drinking and driving problems. Babor, et al (2010) reported on the work of (Conway, 2002), on similar findings in New Zealand where an alcohol ban in public places have reduced drink driving incidence.

The interviewees reported that the majority of the premises serving alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria are not licensed, which further adds to the problem of easy availability and unregulated use of the product everywhere. There is an urgent need for a stringent policy and legislation to control the location and premises where alcohol is served. Once this law is in place and enforced, it may help to reduce the availability of alcoholic products and reduce consumption in the society.

Social host liability laws could be used to control the free flow of alcohol and the easily availability at parties and social gathering in Lagos/Nigeria which help to fuel driving under the influence of alcohol according to the participants. Babor et al (2010), reported on the work of (Grube and Nygaard, 2005) social host liability, under this law, anybody who provides alcohol to adult drivers in a social setting/party could be held responsible for damage or injury caused by that person on the road. Another work cited by Babor of social host liability policy in the USA is that of Whetten-Goldstein et al. (2000) who found that such a policy helped to reduce alcohol related traffic accidents. Finding from this study highlighted that this policy may work in Lagos/Nigeria if properly introduced in the communities with the involvement of the traditional chiefs and rulers. The interviewees commented that a visit to any social parties and

ceremonies in Lagos shows plenty of free availability of different types of alcoholic beverages. All the participants reported that, usually, the party host encourages their guests to drink more than their capacity; the tradition dictates that the party host provide enough alcohol for everybody at the party and such social party host does not take into consideration the fact that the guest will have to drive home after the party. The interviewees also mentioned that, the majority of drink driving accidents involving private drivers happened in the evening or at weekends when social gatherings and free alcohol are most common, which indicates that they are coming from social occasions where free availability of alcohol is the norm. A policy to put the responsibility on the party host to ensure that the party host will take full responsibility for their guests' action on the road after serving them alcohol at their party may reduce drink driving in Lagos/Nigeria. This may help to prevent people serving excessive alcoholic drink to their invited friends and family at their party knowing that their guests will have to drive home after consuming alcohol; this may help to reduce the incidence of drinking and driving which has characterised the society. For this social host liability to have a meaningful effect in Lagos/Nigeria, the policy must be made into law after some period of involving the traditional rulers to discourage the citizens from such unsocial behaviour; it can then; be followed with heavy punishments and fines for any defaulters. This must be given the maximum publicity and effectively communicated to the general public, similar to Stout et al. (2000), who comments that effectively communication is needed before social host liability can have a meaningful deterrent effect. Effective communication through the chiefs and local rulers is needed to change Lagosians/Nigerians

mind-set; and their belief that alcohol is a traditional product for celebration. This traditional believe should be publicly discouraged by the traditional rulers to make the policy effective and successful.

The participants commented on the ability of the different multinational alcohol producers with a large amount of cash to advertise their products during prime time and popular television events like football, national network news, music and youth festival. These companies promote alcohol as a commodity that revitalizes the body and is endorsed by prominent actors, actress and famous footballers which also adds to the problem. Many other researchers have found advertisements to have led to increases in alcohol availability and consumption (Gellet, 2007), and Chen et al. (2005) reported that there is a relationship between alcohol advertising and heavy drinking, problem drinking, hazardous drinking and drink driving. Furthermore, alcohol is promoted in Lagos/Nigeria as a drink for strong men, intelligent people, hard working and successful individuals. The majority of the participants reported that most alcohol advertisements in Lagos/Nigeria today depicted car and lorry driving as a luxury life style that associates alcohol with driving. Most notably among these manufacturer is the Nigerian Breweries Ltd. The producers of Star beer actively sponsored youth events, national festivals, sports and community programmes, which certainly raise questions about this manufacturer's motives. This is similar to the comments by Babor *et al* (2010), which say that sport and cultural events are commonly sponsored by alcohol companies and sometimes provide free products to the events. The officers interviewed mentioned that the government should introduce advertising

regulation and codes of conduct to regulate the advertising industry and sanction anyone not following the official regulatory code.

According to Babor et al. (2010), if one accepts the view that alcoholic products are a potentially dangerous drug and not just ordinary products, a case can be made to say that it should not be advertised. Alcohol consumption has led to too many untimely deaths and the destruction of large amounts of properties in Lagos/Nigeria, alcohol advertisement need to be properly monitored and controlled by stricter legislation. The Nigerian policy makers should urgently introduce new legislation to control and monitor alcohol advertising. It is undeniable that the control and management of driving under the influence of alcohol can never be absolute. But reducing road traffic accidents by adopting an appropriate policy package in which alcohol availability is control will be an important step in the right direction in Lagos/Nigeria. Appropriate and adequate law enforcement would be needed to implement such a policy package. As previous chapters have shown, this is not yet in place in Lagos.

Thus, as has been found elsewhere (Ross, 1992) the problem of drink driving can be seen as intrinsic to a society's, institutions, culture and tradition. Some of the measures to address drink driving would require changing the institutions, tradition and cultural beliefs of the people. Such changes could not be accomplished without costs and without deviating from tradition. This could be difficult in Nigeria unless, the traditional chiefs and kings at the grass roots level are involved. They need to be convinced that the benefits of the changes are greater than the cost; then it would seem worthwhile to them to embrace those changes, but this must be gradual, using persuasion from the

grass root which should include all the traditional heads, leaders and rulers over period of time. Lagosians/Nigerians listen and respect their traditional heads and kings more than they respect the government and law enforcement officers. The traditional and cultural institutions in Lagos/Nigeria are very powerful, sometimes more powerful than the law of the land and the state. Therefore to make changes that may affect Nigerians traditional beliefs about the consumption of alcoholic beverages will take a lot of convincing and could only be accomplished with the help of the traditional leaders, through a grass root road show and enlightenment campaigns accompanied by stricter, but gentle and gradual law enforcement policy as already explained in the thesis. This kind of change in the wider environmental and situational context of police officers working lives is a necessary element in strengthening their sense of professional legitimacy.

Understanding the role of law enforcement officers in addressing drinking and driving issues.

Findings from the study showed lack of clarity of law enforcement officers' roles and responsibility, which prevented the enforcement agencies from performing their duties efficiently. Three different agencies under separate authorities and jurisdictions performing similar roles under different management structures is an inefficient way of law enforcement management. There is also the ambiguity of the legislation on drink driving with lack of clarity on the type of punishments for the offender when they are arrested also presenting a challenge to the officers. There are interest groups from

influential politicians and powerful rich people in the society with endemic institutional corruption preventing the agencies from performing their duty effectively.

According to Tyler (2011) if enforcement authority shows 'fair' procedures in dealing with the public, this will have a positive response from the public who in turn will respect and accorded legitimacy to the authority, the study shows a tension between administering fair responses and the pressures from elite groups to avoid the law as well as the lack of clarity about what constitutes fair procedure. If the Lagos/Nigerian law enforcement officers adopt fair procedures when dealing with issues of law and order, it may reduce the negative encounters and impasses between the police and the citizens that have been shown to be highly-damaging, resulting in loss of lives on both sides. The enforcement officers could be supported by the citizens and the government to deliver a fair procedure to the general public by helping them in the prevention of crime and maintaining law and order. Citizens need to see that the police exercise their authority in a fair ways and these may inspire "everyday compliance with the law" (Tyler, 2004, pp.89) and finally it can re-invigorate the social trust between the police and the public. This is Tyler's vision of procedural justice as the police can bring about greater role legitimacy with the general public through simple development of trust and more sensitive ways of handling encounters between the general public and the police authorities. Because of the way the Lagosians/Nigerian general public view the law enforcement officers as an institution that is not protecting them but only serving the interest of the very rich and powerful politicians in the society, little or no legitimacy is accorded to the law enforcement officers.

Reporting and assisting police to fight crime is seen as not their business with people hardly reporting criminality and disorder to the police because they believe that nothing will come out of it after reporting it to the police and will only be a waste of time. This is confirmed by the EURO-JUSTIS project for instance. The project has developed a suite of quantitative indicators (Jackson et al, 2011), which are survey-attained measures of “trust”. If the citizens view the authority as legitimate and fair in discharging justice, they will give them any support and abide by the law of the land. But in a situation where they view the authority as illegitimate and corrupt, like the situation in Lagos/Nigeria where most Nigerians view the law enforcement authority (police) as the most corrupt of the government department, there is a lack of willingness to assist and cooperate with the police.

The enforcement officers' perceived boundaries of responsibility and right to intervene and arrest an offender also negatively affect the citizen's views of their role legitimacy. There is the lack of awareness of human rights by the Nigerian law enforcement officers when discharging their duties. They brutalise, even kill innocent citizens and take the law into their own hands (Adeyemo, 2012). The police often take sides in disputes, use non-persuasive approaches when dealing with the public, with people perceiving them to lack professionalism. Citizens view the law enforcement authority in Nigeria as not dealing with issues that affect them. Research has shown an association between people's perceptions of crime and public confidence in the police authority (Jackson & Bradford, 2009). In Lagos/Nigeria, the crime rate is very high and the police are unable to manage it, which further strained their relationship with the public.

The Nigeria police seem not to be concerned about public cooperation or public perception toward the way they performed their duties. According to other research (Goldstein, H. 1990; Forrest et al. 2005; Tuffin et al. 2006), police crime-solving are often most effective when the public are involved and the police authority having legitimacy in the eyes of the public. People in local communities are best placed to know the problems in their neighbourhood and can specify a solution to these problems. The local people may propose alternative solutions to problems – which could be more effective than standard police responses – and also can help to deliver them (Goldstein, H. 1990; Forrest et al. 2005; Tuffin et al. 2006). In Lagos/Nigeria, most industries and communities employed local vigilantes and community security to protect their property and locality. These people know the problems in their area and know who the criminals are and how to curb them by closely monitoring their activities.

The different social groups of people interviewed for this thesis claimed that sometimes when you go to the police to report about criminal element in the local area, the police will in turn inform those criminals about the informant and the informant will be in big trouble with the criminals as reported in the finding chapters. This lack of trust surrounding the police sheds more light on the reason why the majority of Lagosians/Nigerian will not report crime to the police because they believe that they will not get justice through the legal system. Legitimacy was also associated with greater public willingness to follow the instructions issued by officers – even when people do not agree with what they are told to do by the authority. Overall, the study suggests that fair and respectful treatment by the law enforcement authority might enhance

the social bonds that make disorder and criminality less likely. Furthermore, it is possible that the legitimacy of the specific tactics used by the law enforcement officers to deal with a public disorder incident like drinking and driving in the eyes of the people could make the situation better or worse depending on the perception of the people. It can encourage citizens who have law-abiding intentions to align themselves with the police and to 'self-police' other society members who intend to cause trouble, in this case the police are seen to be legitimate and the public will give them full respect and cooperation. To make these types of changes, there must be re-orientation and retraining of the Nigerian police officers in community policing, respect for human right and respect for the rule of law. The different social groups of people interviewed highlighted that, if they are treated with respect and dignity by the law enforcement officers especially the police they are willing and ready to work with the police and respect their authority but they must respect their human right first and lead by example.

Tyler's (2011) ideas and theories help the researcher to understand the real meaning of procedure justices and how it applies to the Nigerian situation and has helped the researcher to shape this study. It has also helped the researcher to understand the importance of fair procedure justices and how it could help to enhance the legitimacy of police authority if applied fairly.

The law enforcement officers reported lack of support from their senior officers and lack of infrastructure as the biggest challenges facing law enforcement agencies in Lagos/Nigeria. The officers claimed that the influence from rich and powerful political groups hindered the way they discharge their duties, with some high profile interest groups being able to

influence the outcome of some criminal cases. This sometimes brings them into direct conflict with the ordinary citizens and some human right campaigners in the society. The interviewed officers mentioned that if they have the full support of their senior officer, it would help them to perform their duties more effectively. All the officers that participated in the study lamented the decay and lack of infrastructure in the Nigeria police force. Some of the interviewed officers claimed that in most instances they have to use their own money and vehicles to perform official duties (patrol). In a situation where they have official police vehicles for patrol, they have to use their own money to fuel it. They claimed that this is the main reason why they take bribes from members of the public because they have no other means. The officers reported that it's not uncommon for an entire police station to depend entirely on voluntary donation and contributions from the politicians and very rich people in the society to run the stations day to day activities. It is therefore not surprising that the rich and powerful politicians can easily buy justice and influence the activities of the police in Lagos/Nigeria because of the donation they offered them.

Another important area the officers commented on was the lack of equipment to detect alcohol on drink drivers (breathalyser) on the road and the knowledge to determine that a person is driving under the influence of alcohol. They also complained about lack of up to date modern police training. The officers need up-to-date equipments and training on drink driving detection and to understand what law exist and how to implement the laws. The majority of the police officers that participated in the study did not understand what the law says on driving under the influence of alcohol and majority of

them lack knowledge of human right. Ross. H (1992) pp.69, and Babor et al (2010), reported that the more the perceived probability of arrest for drinking and driving, the less the incidence of drinking and driving on the road. When drivers identify that they have a high risk of being arrested for drinking and driving and are more likely to be punished for the offence severely, they will desist from the act. The coincidence of rising arrest rates with falling rates of drinking and driving in Australia, indicated that increases in the number of law enforcement officers on the road and the introduction of check points in the Australian states of New South Wales and Tasmania in (1988) drastically reduced the incidence of drink driving as reported by (Ross, 1992). According to Babor et al (2010), effectiveness of arrest depends on the number of drivers directly affected and the extent of consistent and high profile enforcement and punishments. The authorities in Lagos/Nigeria need to introduce a policy that will punish offenders heavily and harshly by revoking drivers' licences; impounding vehicles and also make it difficult or impossible for the citizen to be able to obtain multiple official documents like drivers' license. The officers also commented on the issues of low morale and lack of professionalism which contributed to the worsening enforcement situation in the forces. Another contributing factor is the poor salary structures which make police officers easily succumb to accepting bribes from the citizens.

The enforcement officers commented that education and enlightenment campaigns about the danger associated with alcohol may offer possible solutions to reduce the incidence of drinking and driving. Education and enlightenment campaigns can provide information to those whose anti-social acts stem from a lack of knowledge of the danger of consuming alcohol to the

body and also other risks of drinking and driving. It is important to change people's attitude toward drink driving through education and enlightenment campaign to reduce the risk of drink driving incidents. Presently, Nigerian's knowledge of the danger of alcohol and driving is very poor. The officers believe that grass root campaigns will go a long way to discourage the citizens from the way alcohol is viewed at the moment as a harmless commodity. Attending educational and enlightenment campaign seminars can be made mandatory as part of drink-driving punishment and correction, this will help the offenders to understand the real cost and the danger of drink driving to them and the society in general.

There was disagreement between the three different groups of law enforcement agencies about what law and punishments existed for drinking and driving and which agency is responsible for the control and management of alcohol law and policy. Some of the enforcement officers commented that there is law while some claimed there is no law on drink driving, this is due to the ambiguity of the law. The law on drink driving is not specific and in most cases the officer has to rely on their own initiative to interpret the limited available law, which makes the control and enforcement of drink driving a difficult task. This disagreement among the three different groups of law enforcement officers negatively affects how they perform their role and highlights the officers' lack of knowledge of the law on drink driving. Some enforcement officers claimed that the Highway Code is the only available law for drink driving as explained in the literature review chapter 2, box 1. Generally, the enforcement of law and order is very weak with the majority of the enforcement officers reporting that they are not paying attention to the

enforcement of drinking and driving when they are on patrol duty because the law does not specify what their role is and what they should do if any driver is caught driving under the influence of alcohol. Colombia, a country similar to that of Nigeria in terms of development has a very good standardized alcohol enforcement policy and infrastructure to carry out random alcohol tests on suspected drivers. In Colombia the traffic authorities have the power to carry out random alcohol breath tests, and run regular sobriety checkpoints at entertainment areas and major roads during the night and weekends using screening equipment backed by the law, (Ramon Castano 2012). A similar standard procedure is not available in Lagos/Nigeria due to lack of police legislative power, lack of infrastructure and technical ability and trained staff. The Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) and Highway Code stipulated ₦400, (£1.50) fine for drinking and driving offenders (please see details in literature review chapter). There is no indication that any offender had been fined for drinking and driving; the fine is too little and has no deterrent effect. Nigeria could learn from the Colombian drink driving law and policy which specifies 3 blood alcohol concentration level limits (BAC) test, with the lowest set at 40mg/100ml. Sanctions increase with each level and drivers responsible for causing crashes with fatalities or injuries can be imprisoned under criminal law with sentences increased by 50 to 100 percent if they test positive for alcohol (Ramon Castano, 2012).

The officers commented on the multiplication of duties and responsibility between the three different groups of law enforcement officers on law and order, traffic control management and driving under the influence of alcohol management. It is difficult to say which of the three agencies is responsible for

these duties as they all claimed to be responsible for the same duty. Each of the three different groups of agency claimed that they are responsible for traffic control and management, alcohol law enforcement and management. For the management of drink driving to be effective, the control and management must be handled by one division and the division responsibility should be clarified, the police are best placed to perform such an important duty as practice in most western countries like UK and USA. However, it will be difficult to control and manage alcohol consumption without understanding what the law says about driving under the influence of alcohol. The (FRSC) and WHO reported that Nigeria have 0.05g/dl (BAC) limit policy without any levels of enforcement power. None of the law enforcement officers that took part in the study understood what blood alcohol concentration level meant, let alone the permissible limit for driving motor vehicles on the road (safe legal limit). There is the need for complete overhaul of the Nigerian police training system to include the management, enforcement, respect for human right and detection of alcohol on drivers. There is an urgent need to overhaul the alcohol policy and the way it is implemented in Lagos/Nigeria. The policy makers must as a matter of urgency prioritise and address the issue of ambiguity of the law on the control, enforcements and management of alcohol consumption and driving under the influence of alcohol.

Implication of the study for alcohol policy

The implications of the findings for policy and law enforcement practice have already been touched on in this discussion. The findings from the study

raised a number of issues regarding the control, enforcement of drink driving at local, state and federal government level in Lagos/Nigeria. There are implications for supply and demand policies to reduce the prevalence of driving under the influence of alcohol, for awareness and educational campaigns to provide the public and the police with accurate knowledge about the risks of drinking and driving and to counteract traditional beliefs about alcohol, for measures needed to strengthen the role of police officers to make enforcement more effective, and for wider structural and social changes which are needed to support alcohol specific measures.

An important finding was the importance of law enforcement officers' status and training and the organisational structure of the police. The government needs to urgently introduce stricter laws to control the sales, age limit for purchase, consumption of alcohol, the premises where alcohol is allowed to be sold and opening and closing times for such premises. Currently, people can turn their living room into an alcohol bar and sales outlet without a license and such an outlet could remain open 24 hours a day and seven days a week. Stricter regulation is urgently needed to control it. The study demonstrates that for a number of reasons, social attitudes and culture contribute to the excessive use of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria as previously explained in the findings chapters. Consumption of alcohol is allowed in the office; at home and even at the petrol stations and the law enforcement officer is not excluded from this anti-social behaviour. To change the social acceptability of alcohol consumption will take a very strong determination and commitment at local, state and the federal government level to change the citizen's mind set, belief and culture. The traditional chiefs, leader and rulers have to be involved from

the onset in educating the citizens about the harmful side effect of alcohol consumption to their health in general.

The World Health Organisation (WHO) records show that Nigerian set blood alcohol concentration level limit on record (BAC) is 0.05g/dl of 100ml of blood; (please see details in introduction chapter 2). The majority of the law enforcement officers that participated in the study do not understand what blood alcohol concentration levels of 0.05g/dl of 100ml of blood mean. In this situation where the law enforcement officers who supervise, control and enforce the law on drink driving do not understand what the permissible safe limit for alcohol consumption and driving, and then there is the needs for urgent mass re-training of all the police officers in Lagos/Nigeria.

The findings from the study suggest that it would be more efficient if a single agency were responsible for the control and management of traffic law and the control of driving under the influence of alcohol rather than three different agencies as currently practiced. The police authority may be best placed to perform this important function if given the training and support. The situation is best described as a chaotic, uncontrolled, ineffective and inefficient system with virtually no resources, and lack of infrastructure. It is important and very urgent that up-to-date mobile testing equipment (like breathalyser) should be sourced and all the law enforcement officers (police) trained on how to use it.

The federal and state government through legislative power needs to re-define the role of law enforcement agencies and define what they should do if they apprehend drivers driving under the influence of alcohol. Currently, the law on drink driving is ambiguous, without a definite role for the officers with

different agencies interpreting the law in the ways they understand it. There is need to formulate a comprehensive policy not one that just allows for arrest after a fatality as currently practiced. Citizens realise drink driving does not attract any form of punishment and therefore there is no deterrent even when they are apprehended due to a lack of coherent policy.

There is an urgent need for enlightenment campaigns and road shows in the major motor terminus (parks) in all the federation state by the federal and state governments' agencies to educate the citizens and the law enforcement officers about the danger of alcohol consumption to health and the effect on driving. Currently, there are few media campaigns by the Lagos state government on the dangers of drinking and driving and this is restricted to Lagos state territory. This type of enlightenment campaign need to be supported by the federal government of Nigeria and made into a nationwide campaign. The majority of drivers involved in road traffic accidents are inter-state drivers who may not be aware of the Lagos state media campaigns. Also, because of lack of infrastructure and lack of a constant and steady electricity supply, the majority of these commercial drivers do not listen to news on radio and television and do not read newspaper or read e-news on line. The government has to find a way of bringing these awareness campaigns closer to the citizens by way of road shows at the major motor terminus (parks), and involve the driver's trade union and the traditional chiefs and rulers in the local communities.

All the participants in the study described the price of alcohol in Lagos/Nigeria and the law enforcement officers said that the price of alcoholic beverages should be substantially more expensive to discourage people from purchasing

it; this could be done by high alcohol price and tax increase and a strict control or outlaw the home made alcohol industries to help to control the availability of the alcoholic products in the society.

Although, it is important for the government to protect its citizens in any situation, with the current insurgency situation, the daily killing and kidnapping in the country will have an effect on the resources of the government and all the law enforcement agencies. It is obvious that the insurgency situation will take priority and affect the policy making in the country. In the face of the daily kidnapping and increase in terrorist activities, the priority of the government and police will be to protect innocent lives and properties from terrorist and kidnappers' but that does not mean that nothing should be done about driving under the influence of alcohol because more people died on Nigeria road compare to how many people died from HIV and other diseases combined together between 2007 and 2010 (FRSC, 2012).

Limitations and achievement of the study

The study was limited by cultural and traditional beliefs which meant that it was not possible to include at least a few female law enforcement officers among the participants. In Lagos/Nigeria tradition forbids married women from having close contact with other men except a member of their very close family and as the researcher is a man this automatically excludes participants of this group.

Another limitation is that the officers are generally not accustomed to giving interviews and this manifested in their body language and the way they reacted to some of the interview questions. Some of the officers were not sure of the assurance given to them by the researcher that all information would not be disclosed to a third party. This greatly limited answers to some of the important questions and some information was not disclosed to the researcher when the researcher visited the police station for field observation. The police were generally busy during the researcher stays in Lagos because of the Boko Haram insurgence activities in the northern part of the country and the kidnapping activities of the Niger Deltar freedom fighter agitating for oil resource control in the south western region of the country. Also the Nigerian labour trade union nation-wide strike over the increase in petroleum products price affected the researcher's ability to interview some of the senior police officers that originally expressed interest in taking part in the research study. Also re-interviewing some of the participants was not possible due to security challenges in the country at the time. Field observation was restricted due to security and safety reasons, in some cases access to police stations and officers was denied due to security reasons, which also limited the study. The researcher had to extend his research field period in Lagos as a result of difficulties gaining access to interview some of the officers. A lone student carrying out a field study far away from University environment in another continent is another limitation to what could be achieved. In the University, there are friends, colleagues and supervisors for support and advice, which is not easily available to any student conducting a field study far away from the university.

Despite the limitations, this phenomenological qualitative approach to the study of drinking and driving from the perspective of three different groups of law enforcement agencies in Lagos/Nigeria is the first of its kind in the sub Sahara African countries which makes this study unique and important. The previous dearth of qualitative research in the area of drink driving in Lagos/Nigeria and the lack of recent academic secondary data in this research area as reported in the literature review chapter strongly points to the originality of this study and its contribution to knowledge. The findings from the study will contribute to academic knowledge. The study reported lack of law enforcement on drink driving and overlapping of duties between three different groups of law enforcement agencies, which is a new finding and a serious issues to be addressed by the authority. The study highlighted that Nigerian police officers have no access to the use of breathalysers and associated equipment for the detection of alcohol on suspected drivers at the roadside and with no scientific benchmark limit for alcohol consumption and driving also the complete lack of the knowledge of what blood alcohol concentration level limit means. Also, there is no provision in the legislation that stipulates a defined punishment for drink driving offenders, this is also a new finding that could help to shape alcohol policy and help policymakers and stakeholders to formulate a new strategy to tackle the issue of drinking and driving in Lagos/Nigeria.

It is the researcher's hope that this thesis makes a good case for adopting a qualitative phenomenological approach to research in the area of drinking and driving from the perspective of law enforcement officers. It is also hoped that this study will provoke debate and dialogue about driving under the influence

of alcohol; about the existing law and enforcement responses and about other possible approaches and responses to reducing the problem of driving under the influence of alcohol. It is also hoped that the findings from this study will contribute to new knowledge in the area of alcohol policy on drink driving in Lagos/Nigeria, and will also be useful to lecturers, practitioners, and students. Ultimately, it is hoped that the findings will prove useful to the Lagos/Nigeria government and law makers to formulate new alcohol policy.

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Appendix A

INFORMATION SHEET FOR MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC

Title: Drink Driving in Lagos – From the perspective of law enforcement officers

Introduction:

You are being invited to take part in a research study which aims to explore the social and economic impact of drink driving in Lagos. Your participation in this research is voluntary and you are free to withdraw your participation at anytime without any adverse consequences. Before you make your decision, it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask any question that you are unclear about before you have reached your decision either to take part or not to take part in the research. Thank you for reading this information.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to explore the social and economic impact of drink driving in Lagos. This research aims to identify why some Nigerians drive while under the influence of alcohol, the impact of this on individuals and society in general.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been selected because you are a members of the general public as such you are somebody with knowledge, experience, views or feelings related to drink driving in Lagos which you may wish to share.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to participate in the study. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep. A decision to withdraw at any time or a decision not to take part will not affect you in any way. Your participation in this research is purely voluntary.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be invited to participate in a semi-structured interview with the researcher. This will involve a discussion about the causes, social and economic effects of drink driving in Lagos. You will be invited to share your views and experience with the researcher. The interview will last from 40 minutes to an hour. The contributions you make may be used in the research report or any publications which follow. Any information's you give will be kept in the strictest confidence and your identity will not be revealed, will be stored in accordance with UK data protection legislation. Refreshments will be provided.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There may be no direct benefits to you but your participation in this study will help us explore the issue of the social and economic impact of drink driving in Lagos. This may in time influence policy in relation to drink driving which may have social and economic benefits in the future.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information that is collected during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. The researcher will explain how

confidentiality is maintained to encourage you to be as open and frank as possible.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this study will be published as part of the researchers PhD thesis with Middlesex University (UK). Copies of the executive summary will be available to participants upon request to the researcher. It is anticipated that a report of the study will be submitted as an article to a relevant health or policy journal and it may also be presented at appropriate conferences.

Who has reviewed this study?

The study has been given approval by Middlesex University (UK) Social Science Academic Group Ethics Sub-committee:

Contact for Further Information

If you require any further information please do not hesitate to contact the researcher:

Clement Ogeleyinbo, Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, The Burroughs, Hendon, London NW4 4BT. UK.

Email: CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk

A copy of this information sheet and the consent form will be given to you to keep.

Many thanks for all your help and participation in this research study

CONSENT FORM FOR MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC

Centre Number:

Study Number:

Participant Number:

Title of Project: Drink Driving in Lagos – From the perspective of law enforcement officers

Name of Researcher: **Clement Ogeleyinbo**

Please circle Yes

Or No to confirm

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information Yes or No

Sheet dated.....for the above study and have

had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that Yes or No

I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I agree to take part in the above study. Yes or No

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
---------------------	------	-----------

Name of Person taking consent	Date	Signature
-------------------------------	------	-----------

(If different from researcher)

Researcher	Date	Signature
------------	------	-----------

1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher;

Clement Ogeleyinbo, Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, The Burroughs, Hendon, London, NW4 4BT. UK.

CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk

Appendix B

INFORMATION SHEET FOR COMMERCIAL DRIVERS

Title: Drink Driving in Lagos – From the perspective of law enforcement officers

Introduction:

You are being invited to take part in a research study which aims to explore the social and economic impact of drink driving in Lagos. Your participation in this research is voluntary and you are free to withdraw your participation at anytime without any adverse consequences. Before you make your decision, it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask any question that you are unclear about before you have reached your decision either to take part or not to take part in the research. Thank you for reading this information.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to explore the social and economic impact of drink driving in Lagos. This research aims to identify why some Nigerians drive while under the influence of alcohol, the impact of this on individuals and society in general.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been selected because you are a commercial driver; as such you are somebody with knowledge, experience, views on drink driving in Lagos which you may wish to share.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to participate in the study. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep. A decision to withdraw at any time or a decision not to take part will not affect you in any way. Your participation in this research is purely voluntary.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be invited to participate in a semi-structured interview with the researcher to share your views and experience and discuss what you see as important. This will involve a discussion about the causes, social and economic effects of drink driving in Lagos. The interview will last from about 40 minutes to an hour. If you give permission, the interview will be taped, the researcher will take notes and the tapes will be transcribed following the interview discussions and stored in accordance with the UK data Protection legislation. Any information's you give will be kept in the strictest confidence. Refreshments will be provided.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There may be no direct benefits to you but your participation in this study will help us explore the issue of the social and economic impact of drink driving in Lagos. This may in time influence policy in relation to drink driving which may have social and economic benefits in the future.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information that is collected during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. The researcher will explain how

confidentiality is maintained to encourage you to be as open and frank as possible.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this study will be published as part of the researchers PhD thesis with Middlesex University UK. Copies of the executive summary will be available to participants upon request to the researchers. It is anticipated that a report of the study will be submitted as an article to a relevant health or policy journal and it may also be presented at appropriate conferences.

Who has reviewed this study?

The study has been given approval by Middlesex University (UK) Social Science Academic Group Ethics Sub-committee:

Contact for Further Information

If you require any further information please do not hesitate to contact the researcher:

Clement Ogeleyinbo, Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, The Burroughs, Hendon, London NW4 4BT. UK.

Email: CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk

A copy of this information sheet and the consent form will be given to you to keep.

CONSENT FORM FOR COMMERCIAL DRIVERS

Centre Number:

Study Number:

Participant Number:

Title of Project: Drink Driving in Lagos – From the perspective of law enforcement officers

Name of Researcher: **Clement Ogeleyinbo**

Please circle Yes

Or No to confirm

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information Yes or No

Sheet dated.....for the above study and have

Had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that Yes or No

I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I agree to take part in the above study. Yes or No

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
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Name of Person taking consent	Date	Signature
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(If different from researcher)

Researcher	Date	Signature
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1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher;

Clement Ogeleyinbo, Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, The Burroughs, Hendon, London, NW4 4BT, UK.

CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk

Appendix C

INFORMATION SHEET FOR HEALTH WORKERS

Title: Drink Driving in Lagos – From the perspective law enforcement officers

Introduction:

You are being invited to take part in a research study which aims to explore the social and economic impact of drink driving in Lagos. Your participation in this research is voluntary and you are free to withdraw your participation at anytime without any adverse consequences. Before you make your decision, it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask any question that you are unclear about before you have reached your decision either to take part or not to take part in the research. Thank you for reading this information.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to explore the social and economic impact of drink driving in Lagos. This research aims to identify why some Nigerians drive while under the influence of alcohol, the impact of this on individuals and society in general.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been selected because you are health workers who regularly deal with victims of road accidents. As such you are somebody with knowledge, experience, views or feelings related to drink driving in Lagos which you may wish to share.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to participate in the study. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign to a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at anytime and without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw at any time or a decision not to take part will not affect you in any way. Your participation in this research is purely voluntary.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be invited to participate in a semi-structured interview with the researcher. This will involve a discussion about the causes, social and economic effects of drink driving in Lagos. You will be invited to share your views and experience and discuss what you see as important with the researcher. If you give permission, the interview will be taped, the researcher will take notes and the tapes will be transcribed following the interview discussions.

What do I have to do?

You will be invited to participate in a face to face interview with the researcher at a time and place which is convenient for you. The interview will take from about 40 minutes to one hour and will involve the researcher exploring, your experiences, thoughts and ideas about drink driving. Refreshments will be provided.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There may be no direct benefits to you, but your participation in this study will help us explore the issue of the social and economic impact of drink driving in Lagos. This may in time influence policy

in relation to drink driving which may have social and economic benefits in the future.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information that is collected during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will be given a code or false name so that your identity will not be revealed and the information's stored in accordance with the UK data protection legislation.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this study will be published as part of the researchers PhD thesis with Middlesex University (UK). Copies of the executive summary will be available to participants upon request to the researcher. It is anticipated that a report of the study will be submitted as an article to a relevant health or policy journal and it may also be presented at appropriate conferences.

Who has reviewed this study?

The study has been given approval by Middlesex University (UK) Social Science Academic Group Ethics Sub-committee:

Contact for Further Information

If you require any further information please do not hesitate to contact the researcher:

Clement Ogeleyinbo, Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, The Burroughs, Hendon, London NW4 4BT. UK.

[Email: CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk)

A copy of this information sheet and the consent form will be given to you to keep.

Many thanks for all your help and participation in this research study.

CONSENT FORM FOR HEALTH WORKERS

Centre Number:

Study Number:

Participant Number:

Title of Project: Drink Driving in Lagos – From the perspective of law enforcement officers

Name of Researcher: **Clement Ogeleyinbo**

Please circle Yes

Or No to confirm

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information Yes or No

Sheet dated.....for the above study and have

had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that Yes or No

I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I agree to take part in the above study. Yes or No

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
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Name of Person taking consent	Date	Signature
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(If different from researcher)

Researcher	Date	Signature
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1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher;

Clement Ogeleyinbo, Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, The Burroughs, Hendon, London NW4 4BT. UK.

CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk

Appendix D

INFORMATION SHEET FOR POLICE OFFICERS

Title: Drink Driving in Lagos – From the perspective of law enforcement officers

Introduction:

You are being invited to take part in a research study which aims to explore how law enforcement officers perceive their roles in relation to drink driving in Lagos, the challenges they face in addressing drink driving and the ways in which they attempt to meet the challenges

Your participation in this research is voluntary and you are free to withdraw your participation at anytime without any adverse consequences. Before you make your decision, it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask any question that you are unclear about before you have reached your decision either to take part or not to take part in the research.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to explore how law enforcement officers perceive their roles in relation to drink driving in Lagos, the challenges they face in addressing drink driving and the ways in which they attempt to meet the challenges.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been selected because you are a law enforcement officer who regularly deals with issues related to driving, safety and alcohol use. As such you are somebody with knowledge, experience, views or feelings related to drink driving in Lagos which you may wish to share.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to participate in the study. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign to a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at anytime and without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw at any time or a decision not to take part will not affect you in any way. Your participation in this research is purely voluntary.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be invited to participate in an interview to ask your views on how you perceive your roles as a law enforcement officer in relation to drink driving in Lagos, the challenges may face in

addressing drink driving and the ways in which you attempt to meet the challenges

You will be invited to share your views and experience and discuss what you see as important with the researcher. The interview will last for about one and half hours. If you give permission, the interview will be taped, the researcher will take notes and the tapes will be transcribed following the interview.

What do I have to do?

You will be invited to participate in a semi-structured interview by the researcher at a time and place which is convenient for you. Refreshments will be provided.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There may be no direct benefits to you but your participation in this study will help us to understand the issues a little better and the results may help to inform policy.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information that is collected during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will be given a code or false name so that your identity will not be revealed. The data will be stored in a locked drawer and destroyed after the research is completed. Transcripts recordings and notes will be password protected and stored in accordance with the UK Data Protection legislation. The contributions you make may be used in the

research report or any publications which follow but will be anonymised to protect your identity.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this study will be published as part of the researchers PhD thesis with Middlesex University UK. Copies of the executive summary will be available to participants upon request to the researcher. It is anticipated that a report of the study will be submitted as an article to a relevant health or policy journal and it may also be presented at appropriate conferences.

Who has reviewed this study?

The study has been given approval by Middlesex University UK Social Science Academic Group Ethics Sub-committee:

Contact for Further Information

If you require any further information please do not hesitate to contact the researcher:

Clement Ogeleyinbo, Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, The Burroughs, Hendon, London NW4 4BT. UK.

[Email: CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk)

A copy of this information sheet and the consent form will be given to you to keep.

Many thanks for all your help and participation in this research study.

CONSENT FORM FOR POLICE OFFICERS

Centre Number:

Study Number:

Participant Number:

Title of Project: Drink Driving in Lagos – From the perspective of law enforcement officers

Name of Researcher: **Clement Ogeleyinbo**

Please circle Yes

Or No to confirm

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information Yes or No

Sheet dated.....for the above study and have
had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that Yes or No

I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I agree to take part in the above study. Yes or No

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
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Name of Person taking consent	Date	Signature
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(if different from researcher)

Researcher	Date	Signature
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1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher;

Clement Ogeleyinbo, Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, The Burroughs, Hendon, London, NW4 4BT. UK.

CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk

Appendix E

INFORMATION SHEET FOR VEHICLE INSPECTION OFFICERS

Title: Drink Driving in Lagos – From the perspective of law enforcement officers

Introduction:

You are being invited to take part in a research study which aims to explore how law enforcement officers perceive their roles in relation to drink driving in Lagos, the challenges they face in addressing drink driving and the ways in which they attempt to meet the challenges.

Your participation in this research is voluntary and you are free to withdraw your participation at anytime without any adverse consequences. Before you make your decision, it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask any question that you are unclear about before you have reached your decision either to take part or not to take part in the research.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to explore how law enforcement officers perceive their roles in relation to drink driving in Lagos, the

challenges they face in addressing drink driving and the ways in which they attempt to meet the challenges.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been selected because you are a law enforcement officer who regularly deals with issues related to driving, safety and alcohol use. As such you are somebody with knowledge, experience, views or feelings related to drink driving in Lagos which you may wish to share.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to participate in the study. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign to a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at anytime and without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw at any time or a decision not to take part will not affect you in any way. Your participation in this research is purely voluntary.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be invited to participate in an interview to ask your views on how you perceive your roles as a law enforcement officer in relation to drink driving in Lagos, the challenges you may face in addressing drink driving and the ways in which you attempt to meet the challenges

You will be invited to share your views and experience and discuss what you see as important with the researcher. The interview will last for about one and half hours. If you give permission, the interview will be taped, the researcher will take notes and the tapes will be transcribed following the interview.

What do I have to do?

You will be invited to participate in a semi-structured interview by the researcher at a time and place which is convenient for you. Refreshments will be provided.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There may be no direct benefits to you but your participation in this study will help us to understand the issues a little better and the result may help to inform policy.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information that is collected during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will be given a code or false name so that your identity will not be revealed. The data will be stored in a locked drawer and destroyed after the research is completed. Transcripts recordings and notes will be password protected and stored in accordance with the UK Data Protection legislation. The contributions you make may be used in the research report or any publications which follow but will be anonymised to protect your identity.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this study will be published as part of the researchers PhD thesis with Middlesex University UK. Copies of the executive summary will be available to participants upon request to the researcher. It is anticipated that a report of the study will be submitted as an article to a relevant health or policy journal and it may also be presented at appropriate conferences.

Who has reviewed this study?

The study has been given approval by Middlesex University UK Social Science Academic Group Ethics Sub-committee:

Contact for Further Information

If you require any further information please do not hesitate to contact the researcher:

Clement Ogeleyinbo, Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, The Burroughs, Hendon, London NW4 4BT. UK.

[Email: CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk)

A copy of this information sheet and the consent form will be given to you to keep.

Many thanks for all your help and participation in this research study.

CONSENT FORM FOR VEHICLE INSPECTION OFFICERS

Centre Number:

Study Number:

Participant Number:

Title of Project: Drink Driving in Lagos – From the perspective of law enforcement officers

Name of Researcher: **Clement Ogeleyinbo**

Please circle Yes

Or No to confirm

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information Yes or No

Sheet dated.....for the above study and have

had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that Yes or No

I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I agree to take part in the above study. Yes or No

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
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Name of Person taking consent	Date	Signature
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(if different from researcher)

Researcher	Date	Signature
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1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher;

Clement Ogeleyinbo, Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, The Burroughs, Hendon, London, NW4 4BT. UK.

CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk

Appendix F

INFORMATION SHEET FOR LAGOS STATE TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY OFFICERS

Title: Drink Driving in Lagos - From perspective of law enforcement officers.

Introduction:

You are being invited to take part in a research study which aims to explore how law enforcement officers perceive their roles in relation to drink driving in Lagos, the challenges they face in addressing drink driving and the ways in which they attempt to meet the challenges

Your participation in this research is voluntary and you are free to withdraw your participation at anytime without any adverse consequences. Before you make your decision, it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask any question that you are unclear about before you have reached your decision either to take part or not to take part in the research.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to explore how law enforcement officers perceive their roles in relation to drink driving in Lagos, the

challenges they face in addressing drink driving and the ways in which they attempt to meet the challenges

Why have I been chosen?

You have been selected because you are a law enforcement officer who regularly deals with issues related to driving, safety and alcohol use. As such you are somebody with knowledge, experience, views or feelings related to drink driving in Lagos which you may wish to share.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to participate in the study. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign to a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at anytime and without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw at any time or a decision not to take part will not affect you in any way. Your participation in this research is purely voluntary.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be invited to participate in an interview to ask your views on how you perceive your roles as a law enforcement officer in relation to drink driving in Lagos, the challenges you may face in addressing drink driving and the ways in which you attempt to meet the challenges

You will be invited to share your views and experience and discuss what you see as important with the researcher. The interview will last for about one and half hours. If you give permission, the interview will be taped, the researcher will take notes and the tapes will be transcribed following the interview.

What do I have to do?

You will be invited to participate in a semi-structured interview by the researcher at a time and place which is convenient for you. Refreshments will be provided.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There may be no direct benefits to you but your participation in this study will help us to understand the issues a little better and the results may help to inform policy.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information that is collected during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will be given a code or false name so that your identity will not be revealed. The data will be stored in a locked drawer and destroyed after the research is completed. Transcripts recordings and notes will be password protected and stored in accordance with the UK Data Protection legislation. The contributions you make may be used in the research report or any publications which follow but will be anonymised to protect your identity.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this study will be published as part of the researchers PhD thesis with Middlesex University UK. Copies of the executive summary will be available to participants upon request to the researcher. It is anticipated that a report of the study will be submitted as an article to a relevant health or policy journal and it may also be presented at appropriate conferences.

Who has reviewed this study?

The study has been given approval by Middlesex University UK Social Science Academic Group Ethics Sub-committee:

Contact for Further Information

If you require any further information please do not hesitate to contact the researcher:

Clement Ogeleyinbo, Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, The Burroughs, Hendon, London NW4 4BT. UK.

[Email: CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:CO469@live.mdx.ac.uk)

A copy of this information sheet and the consent form will be given to you to keep.

Many thanks for all your help and participation in this research study.

CONSENT FORM FOR LAGOS STATE TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY OFFICERS

Centre Number:

Study Number:

Participant Number:

Title of Project: Drink Driving in Lagos – From the perspective of law enforcement officers

Name of Researcher: **Clement Ogeleyinbo**

Please circle Yes

Or No to confirm

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information Yes or No

Sheet dated.....for the above study and have

had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that Yes or No

I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I agree to take part in the above study. Yes or No

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
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Name of Person taking consent	Date	Signature
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(if different from researcher)

Researcher	Date	Signature
------------	------	-----------

1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher;

Clement Ogeleyinbo, Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, The Burroughs, Hendon, London, NW4 4BT. UK.

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Appendix G

Semi-structured Interview Schedule for members of the public, commercial drivers and Health workers

I am investigating issues related to alcohol in Lagos, I'm wondering what your views are about alcohol consumption in Lagos

Section A Socio-demography questions

*Gender:

*Age:

*Education:

*Religion:

*How long in the services:

*How long in your present unit:

*What is your position in your job?

Section B interviews questions.

1. What is the role of alcohol in Lagos? On what sort of occasions do people drink? (Places where they drink and who they drink with)
2. Please tell me the types of alcohol that people consume and the reasons why they drink it? (status of some types of alcohol)
3. Are different groups of people under pressure to drink alcohol or even to consume certain amounts? (gender, age, culture)
4. What is your perception of drunkenness in Lagos?
5. What do you think the danger of alcohol is? (to our health, drinking too much, drinking often)
6. How many bottles of Guilder/Star beer do you think the average Nigerians can drink before it affects your driving skills and judgement? (Beliefs about different types of alcohol, mixing alcohol, tolerance levels, possibly relationship to food), then, what about yourself.
7. How is alcohol regarded in Nigeria society? Do we regard alcohol as food, as medicinal?

8. What is the relationship between drink driving and road accidents in Lagos?
9. Have you personally experience drink-driving accident?
10. In our traditional setting what place do we place alcohol consumption? How important is alcohol in our tradition and culture?
11. Why is it that in most social occasion's men drinks larger quantities of alcohol whereas women for the greater part either do not drink or drink less?
12. Who are the traditional drivers and what role do you think they play in the drink and driving in Lagos?
13. Are there any restriction placed on women on alcohol drinking in Nigeria?
14. What should be done by the authority about drink driving in Lagos?

Law enforcement officers Focus Group schedule

I am investigating issues related to alcohol in our society, focussing on Lagos, I'm wondering what your views are about alcohol consumption in Lagos.

The purpose of this study is to explore the social and economic effect of drink driving in Lagos. This research aims to identify why some Nigerians drive while under the influence of alcohol.

1. As Law enforcement officers, what is the role of alcohol in our society?
2. What do you think the danger of alcohol is?
3. Accident wreck life, family and community for ever, what is your view on alcohol consumption and driving?
4. Some opinion leaders says the Law enforcement officers are to be blame for many of the drink driving crashes in Lagos, what is your view on this?
5. What do you think of drink driving Law in Lagos?

6. What do you think are the reason why some people drove when they have been drinking, and when they are drunk?
7. Looking at the numerous vehicle crashes in Lagos, what role does culture play in alcohol consumption and driving?
8. What should be done by the authority about drink driving in Lagos?

Appendix H

You are invited to take part in a research study exploring your roles as a law enforcement officer; the purpose of this study is to explore how you perceive your roles in relation to drink driving in Lagos.

This interview aims to explore your view on the challenges you face in addressing drink driving and the ways in which you attempt to meet these challenges. This study is a follow up from the issues emerging from the previous interview with some of your fellow officers on this particular issue.

Semi-structured Interview Schedule for Law Enforcement Officers

Key- **NPF** – Nigerian Police Force, **LASTMA** – Lagos State Traffic Management Authority, **VIO** – Vehicle Inspection.

[Ques. 1] Socio-demography and type of officer: **NPF, LASTMA, VIO,**

*Gender:

*Age:

*Education:

*Religion:

*How long in the force:

*How long in your present unit/division:

*What is your rank in the force?

[Ques. 2] opening questions

1. Can you tell me your typical daily duty? Is D/D control and enforcement part of your duty?
2. Tell me what legislation exists in Nigeria in relation to driving vehicle under the Influence of alcohol?

[QUES.3] NPF/LASTMA/VIO officers perception of why people drink and drive

3. Tells me what is the impact of alcohol availability on drink driving?
4. Can you tell me why do drivers drink and drive?
5. Could you tell me what does influence the rate of road traffic accidents in Lagos?
6. Can you tell me what the effect of alcohol on driving is?

[QUES.4] how do they determine a driver has been drinking?

7. Tell me how do you determine that a particular driver on the road is drunk?
8. Could you tell me how do you deal with a driver you suspected to being intoxicated on the road?
9. Tell me what type of test do you carried out to determine a drunk driver on the road?

[QUES.5] how do law enforcement officer deal with D/D?

10. Tell me if you find someone has been drinking and driving what would you do with them?
 - Could you tell me what type of action would you take?
 - Tell me whether all people behave the same, for example men and women, the politician, rich people and the Diplomat?
 - Tell me how people responding to being stopped on the road?

[QUES.6] what should be done about D/D?

11. Could you tell me what you think should be done about drink driving?

12. Tell me what do you think the police should do, what role do you think the police should play in reducing the level of drink driving?

13. Can you tell me how concerns are the general public about drink driving?

What would you like to see the government doing about drink driving?